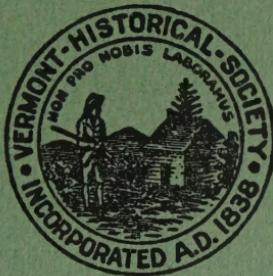


NEW SERIES

Price 75cts. VOL. VII No. 4

PROCEEDINGS
of the
VERMONT
Historical Society



Seth Shaler Arnold (1788-1871): Vermonter
Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850. *A Review*
Vermont in the Census of 1800. *A Review*
The New Green Mountain Songster. *A Review*
Journals of Early Travels in Vermont. *A Bibliography*
Supplement to Index of Vermont Ballads and Folk-Songs
Postscript

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
DECEMBER
1939

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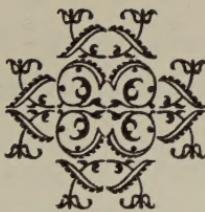
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Proceedings
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DECEMBER
1939

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Professional obligations made it impossible for the Honorable Walter S. Fenton to contribute his study of the Vermont-Federal flood-control issue to our December number. The paper, however, will appear later. The feature of our March issue will be an illustrated, comprehensive article by John H. Bailey, archaeologist of the Champlain Valley Archaeological Society, on the research work of the Society in Vermont.

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Proceedings of the
Vermont Historical Society

1939

NEW SERIES

DECEMBER

VOL. VII No. 4

SETH SHALER ARNOLD (1788-1871):
VERMONTER

By GLADYS GAGE ROGERS

We have been trying to suggest in recent issues of the Proceedings aspects of our belief that the sturdiness and steadiness of Vermont institutions and character do not represent the achievement of brilliant leadership and political innovations of the past, but are the result of a sound foundation laid long ago by men and women of sturdy beliefs, firm convictions, all resting in turn upon Anglo-Saxon conceptions of obedience to duty, faithfulness to ideals, loyalty to civic obligations, recognition of the necessity and dignity of labor, a belief in "Some One in the shadows keeping watch above His own." We believe that the text you are about to read is part of the story; and it will be suggestive to our readers of angles of contemplation beyond the one we mention. We are able to print the text through the courtesy and coöperation of the Honorable Seth Newton Gage and his daughter, Gladys Gage Rogers, of Ascutney, Vermont. The manuscript is a family possession and was edited by Mrs. Rogers for their personal use; it was submitted for publication at our request. The original introductory note by Mrs. Rogers reads: "A feeble attempt to portray from a few letters and documents, the life of my great-grandfather, Seth Shaler Arnold. Though born just one hundred years before my birth, he has always been to me a living personality, held in admiration and affection. For my father, Seth Newton

Gage, with deep love and best wishes for a happy birthday, April 2, 1938." In spite of Mrs. Rogers' reference to her editing, it seems to us charmingly and effectively done. Additional comment will be found in the Postscript. Editor.

IN reality, I know very little about my great-grandfather, Seth Shaler Arnold. I know that he was born in 1788, in a large white house, built by his father, Seth Arnold, which still stands on the highway in Westminster, Vermont. I know that he prepared for college at Deerfield Academy, and graduated from Middlebury in 1812. From there he went to Maryland to take part in the War of 1812. After returning to New England, he went into the ministry, and in 1817 married Ann House, the daughter of a merchant shipowner, in Haddam, Connecticut. The story is that his salary was never more than four hundred dollars a year, but that his four daughters always wore silk dresses and gloves to church on Sunday, and that he always drove fine horses. His journals and account books have many entries of money given to charities and education, including a gift to Middlebury College to found a scholarship. These are the bare facts, but it seems to me that these few letters tell the whole story of his life; his youthful seriousness and earnestness of purpose, his stern principles, his patience and tenderness, and his views on life, death and marriage.

Some of his letters and his book, "The Intellectual Housekeeper," have been read and laughed over many times by his descendants. Although we smile at the stilted tone of these letters, and the conversations which Great-Grandfather Arnold deemed suitable for young females, I must confess that my own amusement is considerably tempered with pride and admiration, and that I feel very grateful for this intimate record of the lives of my forebears. To me, the thought of them has been a never-failing well of courage from which I have drawn many times.

This is a letter written to Esther Arnold of Westminster, Vt., by her brother, Seth Shaler Arnold, a member of the Senior Class of Middlebury College.

Middlebury, April 6, 1812

Dear Sister:

I intrude on my study hours, to write you, rather than delay writing any longer. I do not write to Ambrose, because I do not know

that he is at home. I write to you in preference to my father, because I am fully impressed, that my kind, forgiving parents would overlook it, even if it were a fault in me. But I am persuaded, that my parents will as gladly hear from an unworthy son, through the medium of their daughter, as if directed particularly to them. Yes; and I think more gladly; because they have a strong desire for the happiness and improvement of their children, and my father seldom writes himself, he would wish that you might have pleasure in receiving a letter, and cheerfully improve your mind and writing by returning an answer.

When I first came to Middlebury my moments rolled heavily along, till the beginning of the term. Then I had so much to do, that time flew apace, till the exhibition was past and gone. Since that time I have been busily employed; but I begin to feel poor; and my spirits languish. I thought when I came from home, that I would take an academy and so be enabled, to afford some assistance to my father, to lighten his burden in declining years.—That I might make some return of gratitude for the unwearied care of infancy, and the support of my College life. But alas! my hopes are blasted.

I made application to the President for permission to teach an academy; but he was unwilling that I should be absent. He told me, I should lose the best time in College for improvement in composition, of which I was very sensible. Yet if I could have engaged the school at Walpole I should have taken a dismission and returned again before commencement for admission to the same standing.

But now I know of no school or academy which I could engage. I am left in indigent circumstances. I am drained of money and a flood of expences before me. I must leave College where I am! Twelve weeks more to study. But if I do I can not pay up to the present day. Must I be in debt? Unwelcome thought.—Can I be trusted?—When and how shall I pay?—Can I ask my father for a cent?—Already has he bestowed on me the earnings of a moistened brow, under the scorching of a summer's sun.—How then, can I ask him to borrow for me, a hundred and thirty one dollars, even if I pay it myself?—I am now a debtor for my former support, and poorly prepared to return a reward for paternal kindness.—O! Let not my heart be callous to parental affection.

May Jesus our Saviour, with blessings descending,
Grant peace, love and plenty, with smiles ever blending.

I have time only to inform you that Mrs. Aikins is dead. She was Mrs. Spencer's daughter.

Remember my affectionate regards to all the family and enquiring friends.

Adieu my sister. Let us feel dependent on God and content with his providence.

Miss Esther Arnold.

Your's *Seth Arnold*

N.B. I here place before you the least expence at commencement.

<i>Clothes</i>	<i>\$28.50</i>
<i>Tuition</i>	<i>30.00</i>
<i>Board</i>	<i>48.00</i>
<i>Washing</i>	<i>2.86</i>
<i>Wood & candles</i>	<i>2.50</i>
<i>The Expences of exhibition and other Commencement charges</i>	<i>20.00</i>
<hr/>	
<i>The least total expences</i>	<i>131.86</i>

Other expences continually occur—horse keeping is very high. You all know that I am no hand to trade horses.

We do not know whether the earnings of a moistened brow under the scorching of a summer's sun were sufficient to cover the "expences" of Commencement, or whether the money came from another source. We do know that young Seth was graduated with his class in 1812.

There are many letters written by the four daughters, during their teens, but none give a clue as to why Mary Ann, the eldest, did not go to college, or rather, to a Female Seminary. Perhaps because of her mother's ill health the duties of the household fell upon her shoulders. Sophia, the second daughter, went to Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1840. She contracted typhoid fever there in 1842 and died after a long illness. Mary Ann went down to nurse her, and her letters speak of the "kindness of the young ladies of the Seminary" in taking their turn at nursing in the sickroom! Because of Sophia's death, my grandmother, Olivia, did not attain higher education, though these letters show that she had hoped to be admitted to the Seminary.

Although many of these letters are full of the gossip of the time,

of parties, attentions from young gentlemen, and of visits received and returned, there is also much moralizing, some poetry, and invariably in closing the recipient is commended to God's care. It seems a pity to transpose the beautiful flowing script of the letters into cold print. Even one written by little Caroline at the age of ten is a marvel of perfection.

These two letters written by Sophia have been chosen because of the picture they give of college life a hundred years ago.

South Hadley, Nov. 26, 1840

Dear Sister Mary Ann:

It is Thanksgiving here to-day, and I, of course, have rather more leisure than usual. I knew not how to improve it better than in writing to you. I received father's letter in due time and was happy to learn that you were well. You don't know what a gratification it is to me to hear from home, indeed if you did I think I should hear from you oftener. I did not intend that you should infer from my letter that I was homesick, or discontented for I have not been really so at any rate, I am quite happy now. I am much obliged to father for the sympathy he expressed, and think I shall be amply repaid for adhering to the rules of the family, and following the sound of the bell; if I acquire in any degree his habit of promptness, and regularity.

We are to have a vacation, of four days, in which time we are released from all restrictions except retiring at the usual time. More than half of our number have left, to visit their friends. Miss Lyon's absent on account of her mother being very sick. She regretted leaving very much for fear that we should not enjoy ourselves, however, I think we shall have a good time although Miss Lyon's presence conduces much to our happiness. She is so cheerful and makes everything pass off well.

It is a most beautiful morning. I have just returned from a walk. The snow is about an inch deep. I imagine that it is good sleighing with you, but I shall lose all the pleasure of riding this winter, the church is so near Miss Lyon thinks it better for the character to walk, but we can ride once a week if we choose, about two miles out by paying a ninepence each, but very few have been as yet. The vehicle is an open waggon with two horses and an elderly gentleman for a driver.

As there are so few of us we have much more than usual to do,

and as there is some one at our door giving us a very polite invitation to assist in preparing the dinner I must defer the remainder of my letter until some other time.

Dec. 5th—After so long a delay I will again attempt to complete this letter. I suppose you would like to know something of the manner in which Thanksgiving Day was spent. Rev. Mr. Condit and family also Rev. Mr. Kawks and family spent the day with us. The meals were wholly prepared by the young ladies. For dinner we had roasted turkey, boiled chickens, squash, turnip, and potatoes, and cranberry sauce. Second course, tapioca pudding and custard pies. For tea we had cold water, biscuits and butter, and cake. In the evening we were all invited by the teachers to assemble in the parlor, had quite a pleasant family party, for refreshment had apples and raisins.

Miss Lyon returned home (to S.H.) the 28th, her mother was buried Thanksgiving Day. Miss Lyon's health is quite poor.

Had quite a snow storm Sabbath day and it begins to seem something like winter. We suffer but little with cold and could hardly realise it at all were it not for our walks.

I have such pleasant room mates and each a snug little room that we enjoy ourselves very much. We had the privilege of choosing our own room, and mates. It is the same room that R. Reed occupied about as large as our lobby at home. A closet in one corner takes about a third of the room, the furniture consists of a large bedstead, good size table, a wash stand, with a broken bowl and two broken pitchers, and fire proof rug, a pleasant open stove with grate, fender, shovel, tongs, and bellows. A large basket for wood, which to economise space we keep under the bed. We have four chairs and two crickets. In one corner is a row of shelves for our library. Suspended over the table is the frame of a broken mirror; behind the stove a line of clothes. I took one of my sheets which makes quite a genteel window curtain, and now after giving you a description of the furniture of our room with the exception of three or four large trunks, I should be very happy to have you call on me, Oh! how I wish father would take a journey this winter and bring some of you down here, if he only will and calculate to be here just before the January vacation, and then there would be a fine chance to take another passenger home with you. We have to pay extra board during vacations, beside the wood which is five dollars a cord together with

oil would more than defray the expenses of a short journey. I have had three invitations to spend the week in January, Mrs. Averill of Springfield sent an invitation by Miss Dickinson one of our ladies, who told her that I was here. A Miss Parker from Boston is very desirous that I should go home with her, and Fanny and Phebe expect their father down to carry them to Munson, Springfield, etc. They have invited me to go with them. There are so many strings to my bow I hardly know which to draw, but I would much prefer going home to any of them were not the time so short that it would hardly pay the way to go by stage. Do write and tell me what father thinks I had better do.

I received a paper from Phebe and last week also two from Sarah Cobb. I hope you will pardon my neglect in writing, and write me very soon and mention all the news. How is mother's health? I hope she will not work so hard, but give up the care to her capable daughters. I was happy to learn that grandmother had a stove. I think they will be much more comfortable this winter.

If Olivia wishes to enter the seminary next year it will be necessary to make application soon. It will be a good place for her.

How do you succeed in music? Does Mr. Rusk board with you? Does Caroline go to school? Who keeps the school in our street? What is father doing this winter? I thought of you much the third of this month, as we understood it was Thanksgiving in Vermont. Do write me soon and tell me how you spent the day. I suppose O. is assisting Sarah in rearing her tender charge. Is it a pretty baby? Give my love to grandfather and grandmother and all my dear friends. In haste from your affectionate Sister Sophia

P.S. If you don't write soon I shall think you don't care anything about me. Did Caroline and Claudio receive a paper from me? Miss Adams, teacher in the Oberlin Institution is here for the purpose of taking lessons in drawing and learning calisthenics. I have had the unspeakable pleasure of reading a composition before all the teachers to day. I had a paper from Mr. Rusk, but don't be jealous. Do you have any good apples I wish you could send me some. We can't have any here without paying half a cent a piece. This is the afternoon for the family meeting. We all carry our work into the Sem. hall, where Miss Lyon gives us a lecture, and reads all manner of criticisms in regard to the young ladies, and the differences in performing the domestic work. A specimen; dust seen floating in the

spaceway, or in passing tumblers place the fingers too near the top, eating too much butter, etc., etc.

I would sincerely thank you not to expose this letter to anyone out of the family. I beg you will not take it as a fair specimen of my improvement.

F. and B. send love to you all.

In my studies I have got through Goldsmith's *Greece*, and to the eight section in *Algebra*. We are obliged to write composition four hours each week.

I wish you would write particularly what I had better do vacation. I don't want to stay here.

Don't let it be very long before you write, will you?

With much love from

Sophia

Mount Holyoke Sem. Dec. 17, 1840

Dear Sister Olivia:

Your kind letter dated the 12th received a most cordial welcome both by myself, and room mates. You mentioned you thought it probable you might be an inhabitant here the ensuing year, that is, if you can be admitted, which I think will be very doubtful, there are so many refused. However, if you think it best to make application, it will be necessary to do so immediately. I suppose I could make it for you, but Miss Lyon chooses written rather than verbal applications. If father would direct the letter to me having a part of it addressed to Miss Lyon I would present it to her, and then immediately write you her reply. I think you would like the discipline of our family. At any rate, it would be a great benefit to you.

Our studies occupy but a small portion of the time, yet there is much information to be gained from the various exercises of the day which we should not be liable to acquire from other sources. Great attention is devoted to the subject of religion, which seems to spread its influences in a greater or less degree throughout the family. Many of those who were in a state of carelessness, at the commencement of the term, are inquiring the way of salvation, and if we give evidence of a change of heart, still there is not that deep feeling which we would desire. Miss Lyon has appointed Monday as a day of fasting, and prayer, all our usual duties are to be suspended. I do hope it will have a salutary effect upon us. Dear sister, remember us in your pray-

ers, that the Holy Spirit may not leave us, until every impenitent soul is brought into the fold of Christ. The number which indulge no hope as christians is thirty. I feel condemned when reviewing my past life, which has been led in such a manner as not to deserve the name of christian. I hope that with the assistance of God I shall be enabled to live more devoted to his service. We cannot be too careful of our example before the world. Miss Lyon continues feeble, has placed herself under the care of a physician. She attends but few of the school exercises, has not met with us at table for nearly two weeks. She attends some of the religious meetings. Her health has declined so much for a few weeks that she sometimes says she thinks she has not long for this world. I fear that a second Miss Lyon will never supply her place in this institution. Miss More the first assistant teacher, is a niece of Miss Lyon. She reminds one of Mrs. James.

But to return to the prospect of your coming here sometime. You cannot be too thorough in your preparation. Quite a number of the young ladies have not yet got through the examinations, but prefer rather than go home to remain without their name inserted in the catalogue. I think with your present attainment in Arithmetic you would pass well, but you would need to be more thoroughly prepared in History, and Geography, in the letter, beside the situation of different places, etc., it will be necessary to be well acquainted with the religion and government of every nation. The standard of education is very high, and many who fancied themselves quite learned before they came here find they have just commenced climbing the hill of science.

Fanny and Phebe enter the junior class. I have about decided to spend the next vacation at Springfield, if the traveling is good. As yet we have had no sleighing.

Miss Parker was disappointed that I did not decide to go with her, insists upon going home with her in the Spring. She resides in Tremont Street. I know nothing in regard to the standing of her friends. She is a member of the Rev. Mr. Adams' church. Is quite an accomplished lady. I wish you would inquire of Helen Eaton about her (but not as by my request) for Helen corresponds with Miss Parker.

If Mr. Hitchcock comes down here this winter I would like to have you send if convenient that delaine dress I had in the Spring, also a pair of black woolen stockings, and anything else mother thinks proper, will be acceptable.

We have to pay the remainder of the tuition which is thirty dollars, together with many extra expenditures the first of January.

Where's Phebe Jennison this winter? I have long expected a letter from her. My love to her. I think you deserve much credit for answering my letter to sister Mary Ann so soon. How is Caroline? Her name is hardly ever mentioned. I hope she will write me. I often think of her and would like to see her improvement in writing.

Is our new house done? I like all the particulars when I hear from home.

Fanny and Phebe send love. Phebe says tell Olivia that she has become quite reconciled to the discipline of the family. Please give my love to all, and kiss little William Henry for me. I have much more to write should time permit. Write often.

I remain your ever affectionate Sister Sophia

P.S.

I have just received a paper from you. Much obliged.

Westminster, Vermont

Jan. 30, 1841

To Miss S. Arnold,

My dear daughter,

Your mother has failed very fast for a week, and we expect every day, and every hour will be her last.

I wish you to take the first stage on receiving this and come directly home.

I should be glad if you could see her before she dies. She is in a happy frame of mind; and I hope you will pray, that the Lord will sustain and comfort her in her last moments.

If there be sleighing Mr. Hitchcock is expecting to go down next week.

Your affectionate
Father

I enclose \$10.00
for expences home.

Seth S. Arnold

(Signed)

Perhaps you can borrow a small trunk, or bag to bring what few things you will want till you return.

Ann House was born in the same year that her husband was, 1788. That would make her an elderly spinster of twenty-nine at the time of her marriage. Perhaps at that age it was harder to make the adjustment from the life of luxury in her father's house to that of one of poverty as a poor minister's wife. Judging by the fine needle-work which has come down to us through the generations, Nancy House must have spent all her days before marriage in embroidering and sewing fine seams. From the severity of her countenance it would seem very doubtful that she sat upon a cushion. Possibly the perfection of the exquisite, tiny "A.H.'s" cross-stitched on the finely woven sheets, which we prize so highly, are indicative of her demand for exactness and perfection in all things, for which her husband apologizes, in such a sweet and tactful manner in his letter to Sophia. The marriage must have been the culmination of a long friendship. There are a number of letters written by Ann House to Seth's sisters several years before her marriage. These show a rather playful spirit and the interests of a society belle. There are also in this treasure chest of old letters several written to her by an older cousin, one Colonel House. These are all very gallant; one addressed to her at the age of fifteen is couched in language befitting an epistle to Queen Victoria.

Westminster, Vermont April 1, 1841

To Sophia Arnold, Mount H. F. Sem.

My dear daughter:

I intended to have written to you sooner than this after your return to the Seminary. I hope your health is good, and your life cheerful and happy. My time has been variously occupied, so that my thoughts have been taken off from our affections somewhat more than I expected, yet there are times when I feel lonely indeed, especially when the girls are gone, and I have no other company. I hope you will ever cherish a grateful and affectionate remembrance of your departed Mother. Trials pass from my mind apparently like a vapor —favoured and happy periods come up fresh to my recollection.

There was one thought I felt it my duty to communicate to you, while your mother was living, which I have hesitated to mention since her death. Yet it would be false delicacy to be restrained on that account if it would be for your good. It is this: I feared lest my

daughters should sometimes have thought, that their mother was too particular and gave herself unnecessary labor, anxiety, fatigue and unhappiness about her domestic concerns; and, therefore, that you might fall into the opposite extreme—without considering impartially the medium that should be taken. Yet I must say, I think, that the extreme of care is more virtuous, than the extreme of carelessness—if it be proper to apply the term virtue to either. That contentment and patience which we ought to exercise are not inconsistent with those industrious tidy and prudent habits which stand opposed to indolence, and to indifference concerning our persons and property. All I desire in these remarks is to lead your thoughts to suitable reflections on this, and kindred subjects—leaving you to make your own application and improvement—hoping at least, that they will be harmless if not useful.

I believe I expressed a favorable opinion of Mr. Hopkins address when you was at home. My mind has often turned on some of the topics on which he discoursed. A few thoughts have suggested themselves to me this morning as flowing from them, (at this length of time since reading,) which I will put down for your consideration whenever you may have a leisure moment.

Seek not to be greatly admired.—by fanciful ornaments—by gaiety—or any means to excite mirth. (This is transitory, unsubstantial, unsatisfying)

Seek first to glorify God—Seek to be respected and beloved—by avoiding all that is light, trifling, vain, indelicate, or inconsistent with your age, sex, and profession, and maintaining a sedate, but cheerful and kind deportment—above all by a spiritual improvement. For this purpose, give yourself to prayer, meditation and reading, especially, the Holy Scriptures, “which are able to make you wise into salvation through faith in Christ.” Be not elated with present success; but hope in God, and be patient, content and reconciled under all his dealings. Be ready for Heaven, and you will be prepared for usefulness enjoyment on earth.

“Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.” (This is enduring substantial satisfactory.)

While I am writing this letter the bell tolls for the death of George Dinsmore. The consumption has preyed upon him, till he is gone. We see that youth is no security against the king of terrors. I hope you will bear in mind the uncertainty of life, and let your life be hid

with Christ in God—so, that when he who is the believer's life shall appear, you may appear with him in glory.

While I would not wish you to be fastidious, complaining, dropping your book and resorting to medicine, or some nostrum every time you feel unpleasantly, I would nevertheless, have you take good care of your health. If you find yourself permanently unwell let me know it in season.

Have independence to act from principle, and to resist the encroachments of pride and fashion; and, at the same time, let not your decision appear like perverseness—a determination to have your own way. Consult duty, and rather condescend, oblige and accommodate others than to gratify yourself, where duty and usefulness will allow.

Your Sisters—Grandfather and Grandmother send love—and I suppose I should have quite a budget from our neighbours and friends if they knew of this letter.

Our regards to Misses H. and all inquiring friends.

Yours affectionate father,

Seth S. Arnold

This letter, written in answer to Doctor Hitchcock's request for Olivia's hand in marriage, seems particularly touching in the endeavor to caution the younger man that one must not hope for too much happiness in this world.

Doctor Hitchcock was a physician, and was killed in a railroad accident soon after his marriage. Several years later, the young widow's hand was again sought in marriage—this time by a farmer, my grandfather, Newton Gage. Grandfather Arnold gave his consent gladly and is quoted as saying that he had always hoped one of his daughters would marry a farmer. They had all married professional men; Mary Ann married a minister, Olivia, a physician, and Caroline, a lawyer. Possibly he felt that farmers were better prepared to withstand the disappointments of this life.

Westminster, Vt. Aug. 11, 1843

To Mr. H. D. Hitchcock.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter today and am happy to return a seasonable answer. You ask my consent to a connexion with my daughter, Olivia, for life. The marriage relation is one of the highest impor-

tance to the happiness of this life, and, by its influence on character, of that which is to come. The contemplated union is not new to me; yet I know so many changes in the circumstances and feeling of individuals, that I am never very sanguine as to the results of early acquaintances. I trust however that you have both made up your minds deliberately and prayerfully; and that you will not see cause to change them. I have long been acquainted with your father, and family; and cheerfully grant your request in giving my consent to the union which you propose. I hope you will not expect too much of the joys of this world, so as to be disappointed and unhappy, if you should meet with a common share of crosses and trials of time.

Seth Shaler Arnold

Grandfather Arnold must have felt keenly the tremendous responsibility of rearing his four daughters in the paths of righteousness. To aid in guiding their youthful steps, he wrote a little book which he called "The Intellectual Housekeeper,—A Series of Practical Questions to his Daughters by a Father or Hints to Females on the Necessity of Thought in Connexion with Their Domestic Labors and Duties, with an Album." This was published in Boston in 1835, by Russell, Odiorne & Co. A few of these "hints to females" may be of interest here, and serve to throw light on Grandfather Arnold's standards for an intellectual housekeeper. In his preface he gives his reasons for writing the book. In view of a footnote to his preface which says, "The daughters are four, the initials of whose names are given in the order of their several ages—the last being quite young. M.A.—S.—O.—and C.," it is interesting to note that their respective ages at that time were, Mary Ann, eighteen, Sophia, fifteen, Olivia, thirteen and Caroline, eight.

In addition to the dialogues of each day's routine work, there are chapters on "Seasonal Work for Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter"; one on "Sickness, Wounds and Burns"; "Raiment and Furniture," and much "Moralizing."

The "Album" seems to have been a blank appendix, which has been filled in with recipes and advice of all sorts, in different hand-writings. The recipes vary from those for lemon pie to hair tonics.

PREFACE AND EXTRACTS
FROM
THE INTELLECTUAL HOUSEKEEPER
A SERIES OF PRACTICAL QUESTIONS TO HIS DAUGHTERS BY A FATHER
OR
HINTS TO FEMALES ON THE NECESSITY OF THOUGHT IN CONNEXION WITH
THEIR DOMESTIC LABORS AND DUTIES, WITH AN ALBUM.
BY
SETH SHALER ARNOLD

PREFACE

The original design of this little manual was barely a system of questions for private use, to embrace the varieties of house-work one week, with other things attending the family, a part of whom were sick. The author then thought, that, if his daughters could perform the work of a week alone, it would substantially answer every other week; that it would, at least, be a great relief to him, in his peculiar circumstances.

Since that time he has considered the subject more, and added some questions adapted to different seasons of the year, and to other occasions. He has also made some alterations in the questions of the week, for public utility.

The answers are to be sought out from various sources as may be most convenient, and the memory and judgment exercised in retaining and putting them in practice. Says the author of the "Frugal House-wife," "No directions about these things will supply the place of judgment and experience."

To excite interest, and to improve the powers of body and mind, there is a small Album annexed, for the purpose of written answers from different individuals, as their experiments and improvements may teach. It is not the object of the author to treat at large of different portions of house-work, and to point out the manner of doing them; but barely to suggest some things that should be thought of, and be practically understood by every female.

The circumstances which gave rise to this little work were the following:

The wife of the author, who had always superintended her concerns with much interest and care, was absent a number of months, on account of ill health. He had three hired men finishing work that had been commenced and could not be left, and was disappointed in getting female assistance. At this time he was taken sick, so that he was hardly able to leave the room. Some of his daughters were old enough to do all the work that was absolutely necessary. They had also been accustomed to doing nearly all kinds of work, being told every thing, just HOW, and WHEN it should be done. But they had not treasured up in their minds the MANNER and TIME of doing. They had had no occasion for taking particular notice—for using their own judgment—for thinking and planning, themselves, because they had always been told.

Now came the trying moment, and they could not move alone. They were perplexed and unable to get a dinner in regular form, all parts of which they had done a hundred times. This led the author to perceive an

essential defect in the domestic education of girls. They are taught to work (if they work at all) not of themselves, or for usefulness, but barely to get along in subordination to others. Instead of thinking, planning, remembering, and acting of themselves as if they were expecting to do the same things again without direction, or were desirous to do their work to the best advantage, they only proceed step by step in their labors, as they are told. This destroys that independence of mind, decision of character, and self-control, which are so desirable. Being brought into the straitened circumstances above stated, and being thus aided in divine providence by actual experience, the author came to the resolution to arrange a system of questions which his daughters should be able to answer. Seeing the necessity of thought and consideration of permanent knowledge for practical use, and an application to their every-day business, he preferred to have them obtain the answers, either from their own practice and experiments, from intercourse with experienced house-keepers, or from other books; that they might be under the necessity of making them out for themselves. He wished them to have a way of their own of doing all necessary business about house. As different house-keepers have different ways of doing the same thing, they would give different answers to the same question, according to their practice. Therefore, it is thought best, not to supply a written answer for each question, and thus confining all to one course; but to leave the answers to the experience and practice of different families and places; hoping that all young ladies will be able to give some answer to the questions proposed. Then, as they hold intercourse with books and experienced house-keepers, they can make improvements and gain knowledge. The reasons for this course must be obvious to every reflecting mind. The knowledge should be practical, and the questions are only hints to what is necessary to be known. In this way, a book can be brought into so small a compass, and be made so cheap, as to be easily obtained by every family.

The author commenced the preparation of this manual the more cheerfully, because he hoped to be useful to his own family while the Lord was cutting short his public labors by sickness. He has since felt the need of all young females being taught to manage their household concerns with propriety, and to nurse and take care of the sick. This is more especially needful at the present day, even in the most wealthy families, because so large a proportion of females are employed in our manufacturing establishments.

To MOTHERS

This may be used as a kind of family school-book, to assist parents in educating their daughters for business. If mothers will take the pains to teach their daughters in a regular manner, one week, by a series of practi-

cal questions, they will find what kind of knowledge is wanted; and they cannot conceive the benefit that may result in a time of sickness, or of their own absence. How much might they save their girls from unpleasant and mortifying circumstances, and their husbands from great trouble, care, anxiety, and unhappiness!

Oh! do not think it sufficient to send your children to a boarding-school, till they acquire the accomplishments of a literary education; but have not the requisite of knowledge to manage your household concerns in a time of absolute need!

Should any suppose there is too much religion connected with a work like this; the answer is simply the following. As a dependent and accountable being, it is the author's way to carry religion and morality along with him in the business of every day in the week, as well as Sunday. If others have a different way, they can make the same free use of their moral liberty. It is believed there is nothing doctrinal introduced, to interfere with the views of any christian denomination.

AUTHOR

MONDAY

M.A. Good morning, father. Is your health any better this morning?

Fa. I do not perceive that it is.

M.A. When do you think mother will return?

Fa. It is uncertain, my child; and it is not likely that I shall be able to be about the house, or to tell you much concerning your work. As we cannot obtain help, you must do the best you can;—and what, my daughter, is your first business this morning?

M.A. I must get breakfast, I suppose.

Fa. Should you not lift up your heart to God in grateful remembrance of the Sabbath that is past, and of the protection of the last night? (Answer to be given.) Should you not implore a blessing on the duties and labors of the day? On your sick father and absent mother?

M.A. Yes, sir. I think this is reasonable, because every good gift is from the Lord.

Fa. Now, then, let us turn our attention to your domestic business; and every thing should be attended to in its proper time and place. Is it not so, my child? (Answer.) Should not a fire be first kindled? Should not your hands be clean? Should not your hair be combed? Should not the floor and hearth be swept? Should not the tea-kettle be filled? Milking, milk, cow, and pig to be seen to? And what are you to get for breakfast this morning?

M.A. Cold boiled beef and potatoes.

Fa. Well, now tell me how you prepare these. (All the particulars to be

given; such as cutting the meat, chopping the potatoes, etc.) How do you make tea? How much? What else do you have on the table besides tea, mincemeat and bread? (Let every article be mentioned.) Is your sister S. getting up?

M.A. Yes, sir, she is now coming.

Fa. Good morning, my daughter, I am pleased to see you. Did you rest well last night?

S. Yes, sir, very well.

Fa. And, can you tell me whether early rising, the fresh morning air, and a little cheerful exercise about the house or the garden are conducive to health, comfort, and vivacity—to virtue and usefulness?

S. (Smiling, as if a little reproved.) Yes, sir, I suppose so.

Fa. Well, S., I shall need a little nourishment suited to my case sooner than the family breakfast can be ready. I think I will have some toast made in a very simple manner, and you may now tell me how you prepare it. (Gives particulars. S. goes and soon returns with the toast.)

Fa. (Tastes.) This will do very well, my child, for the sick, though there is not so much butter applied to it as might be proper for persons in health. Should there not always be some DRINK with our food? Now, while M.A. is busily engaged in getting breakfast, you may set the table. Do you set the table square with the room, and in a situation to make it as convenient as possible to get around it? Do you put the cloth on square with the table? Do you see that the cups, dishes, plates, knives, forks, spoons, etc. are clean, free from lint, dust, and, above all, from every thing more offensive? Do you see that all things which will be needed are on the table, that you need not rise often after you are seated? Do you see that all things on the table are tastefully and conveniently arranged, that you need not make confusion in effecting changes, when we wish to compose our mind in giving thanks to God and asking his blessing upon our food? Now you may enumerate all the particular things which ought to be arranged on the table as usual. (Each thing or class of things to be mentioned.) And do you not have special regard to the number of persons to eat? What difference do you make, whether there be three, or six coming to the table? Do you know where to find readily every thing with which the table is to be furnished? (S. goes, M.A. soon comes.)

M.A. Father, our breakfast is ready, will you eat with us?

Fa. I will endeavor to take my seat at the table. Are your chairs to be in their places? The family collected? The food warm? And every thing ready to prevent hindrance? (At the table business of the day introduced.)

M.A. Should we not wash to-day, father?

Fa. Yes, my child, this is the day your mother has usually done her washing. I have observed, however, that there has been some inconven-

ience in this practice with some families who wish to attend the monthly concert for prayer. Their washing sometimes interferes with the time of meeting; and generally engrosses the mind and fatigues the body to such a degree, as to hinder greatly the interest, the enjoyment, and the usefulness of it. But, supposing you wash to-day, should not your water have been over the fire before we came to the table, and now be heating? Should not your clothes have been picked up and sorted beforehand? What do you think of the utility of putting them to soak some time before washing? Well, for this time, you may omit your preparation for washing till after breakfast, and family devotions. But you can be telling me how you are to proceed. Should you not consider upon the work that you have to do? Should you not separate the FINE from the COARSE clothes, and get the different parts of your work in readiness? Is it not important to wash clean? To put your clothes to dry in a clean place? To see that they are left to the sport of the winds, to be blown into the dirt, or to be worn out by whipping a tree, post, or stake? Ought not your clothes to be brought in when dry, and be carefully looked over, that none be lost? Should not your clothes-line be taken in? And, the pins to be counted? How do you prepare your clothes for ironing? What is to be done with them afterwards? When will you wash your floors? Do you think it sufficient to wash only the centre of the floor and about the hearth? Or is it important to clear out the corners of the room, and other places, sometimes too much neglected? And, now, M.A. what is expected of your dress and appearance on washing days? (Breakfast and devotions closed.)

Fa. O., my child, you must clear away the table, wash and wipe the dishes. Should your dish-water be already hot? Will you give your attention to your business and not break things? How is it that some people break so much? Is it ever allowable to slight the washing and wiping of dishes? To leave grease upon knives and forks, or to put the handles into hot water? When you have done wiping the dishes, where do you put them? Ought they to be put up CAREFULLY also, and NEATLY into their place? S., it belongs to you to make the beds, and sweep the rooms, then you may prepare me some gruel, which I shall need in the course of the day. Is it useful, my child, to take off the bed-clothes and shake up the bed occasionally to air? or not? In order for sleeping comfortably, which part, or parts of the bed should be highest? the head, or foot? the centre, or sides? Is it proper to sweep the whole room, or only a part? Is it proper to hide the dust and dirt behind the bed, chairs, furniture, etc. that it may not be easily seen? Now you may tell me how you make the gruel. When your father is much confined to his bed by sickness, is feeble, and sometimes in severe pain, should you suppose it would be pleasant, or agreeable to him to hear laughing, and to observe much levity and inattention to his condition and wants? Should you not suppose it

would be soothing to him, and a matter of comfort, to see his children kind and attentive, and cheerfully administering to all his wants? (M.A. comes to the door.) M.A., my child, what do you think of having for dinner?

M.A. Bread and milk, if it would be agreeable to you, father.

Very well, it is washing day, and that you can get easily. But remember it is not good to have any butter, or grease on the bread used in milk, or on the knife with which it is cut.

My daughter S., I shall want some pudding made of rye meal, a little before night. You may tell me how you prepare it. You will likewise get supper, or tea.

O. Oh! father, we all drink cold water.

Fa. True, my child, and it is no doubt for our health and comfort, and I am glad you like it so well. But a large portion of the community have become so accustomed to the use of tea, that they will not easily relinquish it; and every young woman should know how to prepare it well, and to serve her company with propriety and ease. Tea, like a multitude of other things, will doubtless be considered useful by many, who have contracted the habit of using it from their earliest childhood. And the workmen, you know, must have it, for they very cheerfully complied with your father's wishes in abstaining from the use of distilled liquors.

O. Oh! father, why do they call it tea, and not supper?

Fa. I suppose it is because tea has become the most prominent article of refreshment, and perhaps many would hardly think they could do without it; or that they could do as well without food, as without tea, at the close of the day. In consequence of the importance attached to tea in the third meal of the day, it has become a comprehensive term put for the whole. Now S., you may tell me how you get tea for the men. They must have good nourishing food, as laboring people always need it. Should you endeavor to call the people to their meals, just in season, that they may wash and be prepared to eat, when your food is ready, to prevent hinderance? How do you approve of the custom of washing the hands before meals? Are there not many cases where the hands have been employed in such a manner, as to render it offensive when, without washing, they break bread and leave a part of it for others? Is it not proper that our daily business should be out of the way, as far as possible, before it is late in the evening? Is it not equally reasonable that we should gratefully acknowledge the goodness of God, and commit ourselves to his merciful keeping before we retire?

O. Why do not all christian people sing in their family worship? I think it is more pleasant.

Fa. I suppose they have too much disregarded the cheerful aspect which religion ought to assume before the world; the praise which should be rendered to God; the powers which should be cultivated to honor their

Saviour; and the fact, that all should take part or be some way interested in family devotions. In consequence of this disregard, sacred music has been neglected, children's voices have remained without cultivation, religion has lost an important charm, and many consider it too much trouble and expense to acquire and introduce the practice of singing to any considerable extent.

M.A. I think all would like the practice, if they would once introduce it, as we have.

Fa. No doubt all ought to regard their duty, the interest and honor of religion, as it is practically presented to mankind. Now, children, you will retire, and remember to get up in good season, because men who labor hard become faint, if they go long without their breakfast.

Children. Good night, father.

Fa. Good night.

WEDNESDAY

Fa. Good morning, M.A. And what do you get for breakfast, this morning, my child?

M.A. Some beef steak, I think.

Fa. Well, you may tell me how you cook it. I think I should relish a little myself, if it is prepared as it ought to be. Should it be broiled quick, over live coals, without burning? (Other daughters come in.) Now I wish to ask you a few questions that may be of use to you through life. In the first place. Should you kindly and constantly watch over and take good care of your little sister C? Ought not all older children to watch over the younger, lest they be in danger, fall into the fire, water, down stairs, or into some other evil? Should they ever try to tease them? Or by example and improper words injure their disposition and habits, and make them unhappy? Should they attend to their clothes, and keep them clean? Should they teach them to read, and to learn those things which are good? Now, my children, there is much work to be done; and when you have learned to do your work well, it is important to know how to do the most in a given time. You are not insensible how trying it is, to have your work drive you, to make you always in a hurry, in a feverish anxiety and confusion, and bring you late in the night, before your work is completed. I want you should tell me how to avoid this unpleasant state of things.

M.A. I suppose we must work harder.

Fa. No, that is not the thing I mean.

S. How then, father?

Fa. Can't you tell, O., my child?

O. No sir, unless we must be quick.

Fa. To be sure it will not do to loiter about in a lifeless manner. Yet

a great many quick persons bring but little to pass, are always in a hurry, and are too late in every thing. They frequently do the wrong things first, and entangle their business; or have to do over again for the want of a little previous consideration; or not taking a little more time in doing it well at first. Besides, there is much waste, or the breaking of things on account of hurry.

M.A. How then, father, shall we get along better and faster with our work?

Fa. In the first place, look over your business deliberately, and see what is to be done. 2nd. Consider how it can be done in the most profitable, easy, regular, and tasteful manner. There must be system. 3rd. Make your calculations to do every thing in its place, and to the best advantage. Then, if you begin in season and attend to your business diligently, doing one thing at a time, you will finish your work generally at a seasonable hour. What now are the THREE THINGS which I have mentioned to do the most work in a given time?

S. Is that all, father?

Fa. Not quite, I have seen three girls standing, and talking together, attempting to take the same dish, or to do the same piece of work at the same time; and I thought that they could not all do it, as soon as one would alone. It seemed sometimes, as if they were in each other's way; and it made me think of what your grandfather used to say, that "three boys are no boy at all." Should you not think they would get along FASTER and EASIER, and perform more work, to have their BUSINESS DIVIDED? Where a number of girls are together, should you not suppose it better for each one to attend faithfully to her own PORTION of business? Now remember these two things. What are they?

O. Is that all you are going to tell us, father?

Fa. No, my dear, there is one thing more I mean to speak of, at our family devotions, of special importance. But now let the breakfast be gotten, and bear these things in mind. (After breakfast.)

O. Now, father, please do tell us that other thing.

Fa. Get your bibles, and family hymns. Is it not pleasant to praise the Lord for his goodness?

O. What is it, father, you mean to tell us?

Fa. It is something to make you all happy when you are about your work, and respected by all your acquaintance. I have seen children tease one another, become cross, peevish, and fretful, and if they did not spit, bite, scratch, and strike in the most heathenish manner, they would go about half the day with angry feelings, with pouting, or unkind expressions towards each other. This has sometimes been visible in older persons. Now should you not suppose their work would be more pleasant, and the children, or inmates of the same house more happy, to love one another

and treat each other kindly? This love and kindness is the very thing I intended to tell you, which is of so great importance to make you respected and happy, and your work easy and pleasant. What is it? I wish to ask you only a few questions more at present. Did you ever see a girl who appeared to dislike what she was told to do, and wished to do some way different from that which her mother commanded her? Was that affectionate and kind, as children ought to be? Was it a transgression of the FIFTH commandment? But do you not think M.A. that we ought to love God more than all other beings and things?

M.A. Yes, sir.

Fa. Then we will sing his praise, and give our hearts to him in prayer.
(After family worship.)

M.A. Father, what shall we have for dinner to-day?

Fa. That beef must be roasted; and for vegetables we will have potatoes, turnips, and onions. How long a time should be allowed for cooking the beef? What the manner of preparing each, together with the gravy? There should be some beer made for drink. How do you make that? Where do you put it to ferment? Beer is sometimes put up in bottles to preserve it longer than it would otherwise keep good. How do you bottle it? You will need some leaven, or yeast, for making bread; should it not be seen to in season? How do you prepare it? Should there not be some mending of clothes or stockings this afternoon? Might not your leisure moments be filled up with knitting, or reading and writing? Is it not important that you should attend so much to your books as rather to improve than lose what you have gained at school? S., you will make and bake some biscuit and custard for supper. Do you know how? You may tell me how you proceed in each particular.

SATURDAY

Fa. Good morning, M.A. It is drawing towards the close of the week, and I want you should have all your work done in season, so as not to infringe upon the Sabbath. If you have time before night to withdraw your attention from the world, and become interested in some moral or religious subject, I think you will not be so exceedingly stupid and drowsy, as some are on the Lord's day. It is very detrimental to religious knowledge and piety, to hold the world in our hands and hearts, while we enter upon holy time. Even if we carry it to the borders of the Lord's rest, it is apt to do mischief. Some, I fear, even deprive themselves of sleep to transact business on Saturday night, and restore the deficiency on the Sabbath. Neither can it be proper to cast aside the impressions of Sunday service, as soon as possible, after the close, or the sun is set; and then plunge into the business, or pleasures of the world, by labor, or visiting, as if there were to be no more religion till Sunday return. However these different practices may

result from different views, I think there can be no doubt, that the practice should be corrected. Now, my child, you may boil some dried fish, or you may pick it in pieces and simmer it in a suitable gravy for breakfast. Can you tell me the manner of doing it in either of these two ways? You will have dinner to get, and, in connexion with the business of the day, I wish you to do all that can be done to prevent the necessity of labor on God's holy day, or to interfere with that peaceful, quiet, and devotional rest, for which the day and its worship were instituted. You will roast that loin of veal for dinner, and what is not eaten can be easily served up on the morrow, as it may be needed. How do you prepare the veal, with the gravy, for the table? I shall expect a considerable variety of vegetables to-day, some green peas, beans, carrots, beets and turnips. How do you prepare and cook each? O. my dear, will you pick some currants, that a little sauce may be prepared soon after dinner?

O. Yes, sir.

Fa. M.A. should you not, as often as once a week, look to all the clothes, to see if they are in their place, or need mending, or are ready for use? Should you not cleanse your brass, Britannia, knives, forks, etc.? Should you not look over and count your knives, and forks, spoons, and otherlike things, to see that they are not lost? or sustaining injury by neglect? Should you not look at the sugar and molasses, to see if they are exposed to the ants or flies? Should you not look at the meat barrels and see that the meat is covered with brine? and the brine good? Would it be well to shake your vinegar-cask, or give the vinegar a little motion occasionally and make additions, from time to time, of that which will become vinegar? Should you look to the candles, meal, and flour, lest the mice get to them? Should you see every day that the lamps are trimmed and ready for use? Should you look to your jellies, sauces, and all things about the house, even to your soap-grease, that nothing be left to suffer damage? Should you, above all things, take great care that the ashes taken up be not left in a situation to expose the building to fire? How distressing, to have our habitation, with its contents, wrapped in flames over our head! and, especially, if our precious lives should be lost by carelessness! Is it not proper, that no ashes should be taken up, except in the morning, that they be observed in the course of the day? and, never be left in a wooden vessel? Should you not be exceedingly cautious, and teach all the children to be cautious about the use they make of fire, candles, or lamps? Is it proper to leave a light burning, when you go to bed, and are liable to fall asleep? Would it not be wise and provident to have those things most valuable, and important papers, such as notes, in a situation, that they could be readily taken care of, in case of fire, and sudden alarm? To save wood is to save money; and as you need no fire for heating the room in warm weather; is it not good economy to cover up your fire as soon as you

have done with it? Is it a saving also to bring your kettles as near to the fire as possible, while you are cooking?

You must remember, my child, that we may have visiting friends; and it is important to be prepared to treat them in such a manner, as to make them easy, comfortable, and happy, while they remain with us. What should be your deportment, when they come? Do you meet them in a friendly manner, take their loose clothes, and seat them? or would you go away and leave them? What are you to inquire about? Are you to make a multitude of excuses, as if you would rather see them at another time? Are you to manifest greater interest in something else, than in their company? Should you not think about their horse, if they have one, as well as about their persons? If your friends are to go soon, what is to be done? Do you just begin free conversation, as they are going, and detain one or more of the company a long time, to weary another, waiting at the carriage, or holding the horse? If they tarry for refreshment, what is your course? Do you make many excuses? or do the best you can, and leave apologies to their good sense? Do you unnecessarily hinder them longer than their appointed time? If they stay over night, or the Sabbath, what is to be done? Where should your wiping cloths be? What should be the situation and provisions of the sleeping chamber? Although it may not be considered best, that there should be much visiting of neighbors on Saturday; yet friends from abroad had much better tarry with us through the night and the Sabbath, than to travel on God's holy day. Which of the commandments would they violate, if they should do this without a real necessity? Now, my daughter, you may get your dinner. I have HINDERED YOU, and FATIGUED MYSELF. S. you may make me some arrow-root jelly; remember and let me have some minute pudding about the middle of the afternoon. How do you make each? (After dinner.)

Fa. O., my child, have you picked the currants, which you promised me?

O. No, sir, but I will now.

Fa. Even if it result from carelessness, or forgetfulness, is it not wrong to disobey your parents, and break your promises? Do not those persons, who fail to do as they say, or who speak untruth, lose confidence of others? Which of the ten commandments implicitly forbids falsehood?

O. I will go now, father, and pick them, as soon as I can. But I could pick them sooner in Mrs. H.'s garden.

Fa. Yet it would hinder you some time to go and ask her, although the bushes are near.

O. She would be willing, I know.

Fa. But that must not be taken for granted without ascertaining the fact. Would it not be the first step in violating the eighth commandment,

to take the least thing that does not belong to you, for the purpose of converting it to your own use, without the knowledge and consent of the owner? Is it not easier to avoid the first step in a wrong path than to return back, when we have taken many.

O. Yes, sir.

Fa. Then, is it not better to do just as you are told, than to wish to substitute something else, instead of the very thing that is required? Now, M.A. at the proper time, you may get hasty pudding for supper, and you may tell me how you make it to be used with milk, or with butter, or molasses. You may also tell me how you prepare it by frying in the morning for breakfast. And likewise the cold roasted veal for dinner to-morrow.

SUNDAY

Fa. Good morning, children. This is the Lord's day; and should we not be as cheerful and interested, and rise as early to serve the Lord in rest from our labor, and in devotional exercises, as we are to serve ourselves in toil, in worldly labor and care, on the six days of the week? Is it not refreshing and pleasant to take off our hands and hearts from the dust, and raise our thoughts, praises, and aspirations to Heaven, from whence cometh down every good and perfect gift? Now, M.A. and S., you may get breakfast of fried hasty pudding and dried beef. You may also prepare your dinner and supper, in due season, of that which can be easily gotten, so as not to fatigue, or interfere with the worship of the day. Should you not suppose, that with a disposition to honor God, and with proper arrangements, little work would be necessary, that could not be done on the week days? Should those be called the works of necessity and mercy which are done on the Lord's day to save time on other days? While our bodies are sustained by the food that perisheth, and we employ our hands and minds in fitting it to the relish, for digestion, health and strength, should not our spirits be fed with the bread of life? Should we not study the word of God, and attend upon his appointed institutions, that our souls may be nourished and strengthened? Is it not suitable, that spiritual food should be well prepared, and that many should participate together the gracious instructions, prayers, and praises of this blessed day?

Hark! It thunders, I believe. We may expect a powerful and sudden shower after such excessive heat; and perhaps driving rain and wind.

Should you immediately see that all the windows and doors are closed, where there is a prospect of the rain driving in?

If there is the appearance of hail, should not the blinds be also shut?

Where rain drives into a house, should it not be immediately seen to? especially if it be near clothing and bread stuff?

If there be apparently any danger from lightning, what course ought to be taken?

In connexion with the means of safety, should you not put your trust in God? (Tempest passes away.)

When you look upon the smiling RAINBOW, after the frowning and threatening TEMPEST, should you not gratefully remember the merciful promise of the great Creator? Thus sometimes shuts in the peaceful evening, with the incense of prayer and praise from the domestic altar, after the black rolling clouds and conflicting winds, the mingling of rain, hail, and dust, the lightning's glare and the thunder's terrific roar have agitated every bosom with the terrors of the Almighty.

Almost a life story in itself is the simple, dignified statement as to the disposition of his worldly goods, which Grandfather Arnold left, as his only will. His fine disregard of worldly possessions, coupled with his love for the few things which were treasured by him, are singularly moving, and seem a fitting testimony of his life and interests.

Memo Left by Seth S. Arnold When He Died in 1871

Feeling that my life is drawing to a close, I hereby mention a few things which I wish to bestow on some individuals in the following manner, viz.

My cane given me by my daughter, Olivia H. Gage, I give at my decease to my grand son Henry S. Hitchcock.

My Penknife given by my father, which he carried through the Revolutionary War (originally having four blades) I give to my grand son, Seth Newton Gage.

I give a large cupboard, painted blue, left at Westminster West, to Rev. A. Stevens, my son-in-law, and also all things else, if any left with him.

I surrender to the Prince of Peace and his cause, through the American Board of Foreign Missions, a powder horn made and given to my father in the Revolutionary War by a friendly Indian to my father who gave it to me just before his death at the age of 101 years, 10 months and 3 days. I also surrender to the same cause, an old sword, coming to me from my mother from my grandfather, Deacon Ephraim Ranney¹—said to be owned and worn by him in the French Wars. John 14; 27, 16; 33.

1. Ephraim Ranney was chosen Deacon of Congregational Church at Westminster, May 4th, 1769.

John 14:27;

If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret.

John 14:16;

Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?

John 14:33;

For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints.



SOCIAL FERMENT IN VERMONT *A REVIEW*

By CHARLES M. THOMPSON

Formerly of the Harvard University Press

SOCIAL FERMENT IN VERMONT 1791-1850. By DAVID M. LUDLUM. 305 pp. Bibliography. Index. Columbia University Press. New York. 1939. \$3.50.

This work is a thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Princeton University. After the manner of all proper theses, it marshals in orderly sequence a mass of facts, great and small, the well-earned booty of painstaking examination of little-known, widely dispersed, and not easily accessible records. It throws many a welcome sidelight on Vermonters prominent in their day. Since social ferment is not the exclusive possession of Vermont, the book has an interest not purely local. It might easily be more readable, but it is valuable and significant.

As we all have reason to know, any great war that puts a community under a severe economic and emotional strain has as its aftermath a period of unsettlement that causes much financial, mental, and spiritual distress, and that lasts until the people can adjust themselves to the new and generally unwelcome conditions of their lives. The discontent makes men question everything; they make a fumbling search for remedies, and since few of them know what the matter is, or have the wisdom and training to find out, they are only too likely in their blind distress to turn to any leader who offers himself as a Moses to lead them out of their wilderness. Such prophets usually belong to one of two kinds: either they are men personally honest, more emotional than logical, fluent and perhaps picturesque of speech, who are convinced that they hold the key to earthly happiness, or else they are men who have all these gifts except honesty, and who to win wealth and political power seek to delude the bewildered crowd with a panacea compounded of every ingredient that they think the public will regard as appetizing. Numbers follow each kind of leader

until some event or other proves the alluring schemes to be no more real than a mirage in a desert.

To anyone who knows contemporary Vermont, steady and cautious, humorous, and skeptical of pretty pictures, it seems incredible that its people in any large numbers could ever have had such leaders as those just described. Early Vermont, however, was not the Vermont of today. But if war has anything to do with such periods of unrest, early Vermont had every excuse for wandering from the hard and unattractive path of realistic reasoning. The settlers had had fighting enough even before they went to the New Hampshire Grants; after they had begun to live in them, they had to endure the anxious and contentious time of their quarrel with New York over the validity of the titles that Benning Wentworth had sold them, the exasperating conduct toward them of the dilatory and vacillating Congress, and the constant threat of the English forces, always in Canada and often on Lake Champlain. They were of good stock, and when they emerged from those troubles, they of course still had that useful heritage, but individually they had deteriorated. There was much irreligion; the churches were feeble and in many settlements non-existent; the schools were few and the teachers incompetent; intemperance and other forms of immorality were rife. There was widespread ignorance. Naturally they wanted better lives, some materially, some educationally, some spiritually. No wonder the uncritical people listened hopefully to the absurdest doctrines. Especially in religion, though politics was not a bad second, did they believe and perpetrate the wildest extravagances. Of course, almost every proposed reform, no matter how foolish is the cure proposed, indicates some spot in the body politic that hurts. The prophet will have the man with a pebble in his shoe learn to walk on his hands, and the man will try to do so until some person with common sense comes along and tells him to take off his shoe and shake the pebble from it. Some such practical man is sure ultimately to appear, and the man with the pebble in his shoe will listen if sufficiently tired of walking on his hands.

So common sense finally triumphed in Vermont. As I read Mr. Ludlum's book, I thought I saw that as young Vermont matured, sanity became a larger and larger concomitant of the successive reforms that agitated it. The religious vagaries began early and lasted long. One early sect, for example, thought it sinful to wash and instead rolled in the thick dust of the summer roads. There were other

cults also with perhaps a diminishing absurdity; that of Noyes who later established the Oneida Community, that of the Millerites who saw the end of the world as imminent, and there were the Mormons. But, on the other hand, there were the Congregationalists who, more and more regaining their ancient strength, did much to revive order and a sane conservatism. Among reforms in other fields, if Anti-Masonry was largely hysterical, the temperance movement, extreme and fanatical as many who took part in it were, had a core of sense and usefulness that redeemed it. Even sounder, of course, was the heart of the anti-slavery agitation. Everyone knows the fantastic lengths to which the more excitable and unbalanced among those who preached it went, but everyone also knows that slavery was a great evil rightly uprooted in our Country. There was sound sense also in the later reforms that sought proper care of the insane, better prisons better conducted, and more efficient public schools.

What brought about the gradual increase in sensible living and clear thinking? Mr. Ludlum suggests various things, some of which gave serenity of mind, some material comfort and ease of living. Among them he mentions the rise of industrialism, the doctrine of evolution, which seemed to give scientific sanction to the doctrine of human perfectibility, the completion of the Rutland and the Central Vermont railways, which, tying together hitherto separated communities, led to profitable unity, both economic and social, and, finally, the growth of the Republican party, "conceived in anti-slavery and nourished by industrialism," which both pleased the moral sense of the people and satisfied their business needs. There were indeed two wars besides the Revolution in the period of which Mr. Ludlum treats, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, but neither of them so demoralized the state as the long fighting during which a handful of men in a wilderness were struggling both to tame and to defend it. If those later wars retarded progress, they did not stop it, and a gradual but steady improvement in the lot of the people took place and of course increased the sense of contentment.

But to the potent influences toward sober living and thinking that Mr. Ludlum mentions may perhaps be added another. I mean emigration to the West. Some persons have assumed that emigration, taking from the state its ablest, its most energetic and enterprising men, left only the lethargic dregs of the population. That is a mistake. If there is loss in emigration there is also an important unnoticed gain. Emigrants are not all superior men. The shiftless, the weakly

visionary, the discontented and unsuccessful go away—at some periods in notable numbers—and are never heard of again. Unlike the men who figure in lists of successful Vermonters, they are never recorded, and are never entered, as they should be, on the credit side of the account with emigration. The vigor of the Vermonters who make the state what it is today shows that they did not choose to remain in the state from apathy, from any inertia of will or lack of ambition. Throughout the life of the state men have remained Vermonters from deliberate choice and gained in character by following the harder road to success. In the old days the people were not afraid of hard work, they knew the rewards of thrift, they were contented with the simple life. They lived courageously face to face with the realities of things, and trusted for their salvation to their strong sinews and shrewd brains. They grew tired of dreams and skeptical of prophets: they preferred to help themselves rather than to trust to any plausible gentleman with a panacea. They knew that if you earn a little and spend a little less, you will have enough. Emigration or no emigration, their descendants are like them—except in this: there are fewer of them who do not know a mirage when they see it.



VERMONT IN THE CENSUS OF 1800 *A REVIEW*

By HERBERT E. PUTNAM

Department of History, University of Vermont

HEADS OF FAMILIES: Second Census of the United States: 1800.
The State of Vermont. 233 pp. Map. Vermont Historical Society. Montpelier, Vt. 1938. \$5.00.

The Vermont Historical Society has added another volume to its growing list of useful publications. The first Vermont Census, that of 1790, was published by the United States Bureau of the Census in 1907, but the second census remained unpublished in the form of enumerators' sheets in the possession of the Federal Government. Through the generous aid of the Hon. Mortimer R. Proctor of Proctor, Vermont, photostats of these sheets were obtained by the Society. They were then typed and, in 1937, permission to publish them was granted by the Federal Government.

The work of preparing the material for publication was carried out under the able direction of Dorman B. E. Kent and his son, Richard Kent, who themselves did much of it. They have performed a service which will earn them the gratitude of Vermont historians. Even a superficial comparison with the *Heads of Families: 1790* shows how well the present task has been done. The names on the original lists were carefully deciphered and checked with local sources to ensure accuracy. Those which could not be determined definitely are listed as uncertain. The index which must have taken many hours of arduous labor is complete. The volume sets a high standard in its field.

The detailed Surveyor General's map of Vermont for 1796, included in the volume, is very helpful in enabling the student to visualize the growth of the state as revealed in the census figures.

The census act of 1800 provided for the enumeration of five age groups for each sex. That of 1790 had provided for only three; two for males, and one for females. This additional information in the second census is of great value to the historian.

The statistical tables which appear in the early pages of the volume contain much significant information. The first (p. 8) is a summary of heads of families by towns and counties for 1800. The stage of settlement is clearly indicated. Vermont was still a frontier with enough available land to meet the needs of the immediate future. There were numerous uninhabited or sparsely inhabited towns. In Addison County, Ripton was uninhabited while Goshen had only one family within its boundaries. Searsburg in Bennington County had no settlers and Glastonbury reported eight families. Belvidere in Franklin County was uninhabited. Farther east, Orleans County had settlers in eighteen of her twenty-two towns and Essex in nine of her twenty towns.

A second table summarizes the population by towns and counties in 1800. A comparison with the figures of the 1790 census shows the rapid growth of the state.¹ The total population in 1800 was 154,318; in 1790 it had been 85,539. Thus in a decade the population had increased by 68,779 persons or more than 80 per cent.

The highest rate of gain was registered in the northwestern section. The settlers were pouring into the fertile Champlain Valley. Addison County's population had more than doubled, increasing from 6,420 to 13,416. The population of Chittenden County had risen from 7,287 to 11,426 while Franklin County which had been carved out of Chittenden in 1792 had 10,103 inhabitants in 1800. The movement into the northeastern towns was just getting well started. Orange County, in spite of the loss of much northern territory through the creation of new counties, had increased its population from 10,526 to 18,244. The rate of increase in the southern counties had slowed down considerably, but the total gain was great. A few of the older towns including Guilford, Hinsdale and Putney, actually showed slight decreases in population since the last census. Guilford still led the towns in population with 2,256 inhabitants and Bennington stood second with 2,243.

In Vermont as in most frontier regions males far outnumbered females. A few examples from the various sections of the state in the following table illustrate the general situation.

1. The figures for the 1790 census are taken from *Heads of Families, 1790*.

	Males	Females	Sex not Indicated
Bennington	1148	1070	25
Shaftsbury	976	913	6
Westminster	978	952	12
Addison	398	336	0
Burlington	447	360	9
St. Albans	508	391	2
Danville	774	738	2

In the oldest age group "of 45 and upwards" the larger proportion of males is striking. The figures for the towns in the previous table will indicate the sex ratio in this group.

"of 45 and upwards"	Males	Females
Bennington	158	138
Shaftsbury	130	119
Westminster	128	120
Addison	35	35
Burlington	27	14
St. Albans	41	21
Danville	79	69

The fourth age group likewise shows a heavy majority of males although the trend is not quite as marked in the older communities. In some towns the females in this age group outnumbered the males.

"of 26 and under 45"	Males	Females
Bennington	211	189
Shaftsbury	144	161
Westminster	182	185
Addison	86	66
Burlington	122	76
St. Albans	99	80
Danville	175	148

A smaller number of women ventured to undertake the hardships of frontier life and many who did were unable to survive.

The age groupings reveal that the vast majority of the inhabitants of the state were under middle age. Vermont was the land of opportunity for thousands of vigorous young people from the older New

England States. Youth had a dominant influence in shaping her institutions during these formative years and was responsible for the difference in her reactions toward national problems. Vermont in the period displayed a willingness to experiment not appreciated by her more experienced and conventional sisters.²

It is impossible to determine the exact populations of the Vermont villages. While the mass of the people were farmers, probably many of them lived in hamlets founded on the old New England pattern. However, the scattered population especially in the newer sections would indicate that the migration to Vermont was individualistic in character. The planned communal migration of early New England was giving way on these later frontiers to the more typical haphazard but faster American way of family or individual migration. In many of the new communities might be found settlers from several states, various towns, and perhaps a few from the old world.

An exceedingly interesting table on page 10 summarizes the population and families by counties and computes the average size of family per county. Chittenden had the highest average in 1800 with 6.66 members per family and Orleans the lowest 4.80. The state average in 1800 was 6.03. In 1930 it was 4.03. Thus in 130 years the average size of Vermont families had decreased by 2 members or about one-third.

The names of heads of families are listed alphabetically by towns and counties. This list should be of primary interest to the genealogist. It will also prove of considerable aid to the historian. For the local historian it is a small but indispensable segment to be used in reconstructing the past. To the student of American migration, it will furnish a convenient check on the movement of people into and out of the state. Vermont was one of the focal points in that expansion which in less than half a century was to sweep across the continent to the Pacific. Some families remained in Vermont only a few years and then moved *en masse* to other frontiers. Many more sent out branches to take root in new soils where the process was soon repeated.

The surnames as well as given names are a partial, but only partial, index to racial origin. Vermont in 1800 was peopled mainly by New Englanders of English ancestry. Many of the old New England family stocks were represented in the enumeration. From the be-

2. See review in this issue of Ludlum's *Social Ferment in Vermont*, p. 246.

ginning there had been some infiltration of other peoples. Probably at this time Vermont had relatively more Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood than the older New England States. Many of the heads of families with Scotch or Scotch-Irish surnames had the common biblical Puritan given names which may indicate several generations of residence in New England and perhaps intermarriage with the older stock. On the other hand, the frequent use of such given names as Donald, Duncan, and Alexander would seem to denote more recent arrival. The Scotch names were most numerous in Caledonia and Orange Counties east of the Green Mountains, but there were also several families in many of the towns west of the mountains. They were rarer in the southeastern section. Such family names as O'Brien, spelled in various ways, are perhaps evidence that the forerunners of Vermont's Irish immigration were already here. Surnames of Dutch or German origin appear infrequently in the list. Some representatives of the French Huguenot family stocks were present in different parts of the state. The non-English blood, however, was still but "a drop in the bucket." The relative proportion of non-English people had not changed materially since 1790.



THE NEW GREEN MOUNTAIN SONGSTER. *A REVIEW*

By ROBERT W. GORDON

*Formerly Head of the Archive of American Folk-Songs,
Library of Congress*

THE NEW GREEN MOUNTAIN SONGSTER. Traditional Folk-Songs of Vermont. Collected, Transcribed, and Edited by HELEN HARTNESS FLANDERS, ELIZABETH FLANDERS BALLARD, GEORGE BROWN, and PHILLIPS BARRY. Words and Music. Check list of Writings of Phillips Barry. Index. Yale University Press. New Haven. 1939. 278 pp. \$3.50.

Here is a book!—an honest book, a book which hews to the line, which presents its materials with the strictest regard for scholarly accuracy but without pedantry, and which succeeds in every line in carrying over something of the zest and enthusiasm of those who made it.

Its title was taken from the rare “Green Mountain Songster” of 1823, whose anonymous author refers to himself simply as “an old Revolutionary soldier.” His repertoire seems to have been remarkably broad, for in his book he included five Child ballads, five or six traditional British songs, a number of American songs mostly of the author type, and at least one “local tragedy” of humble author origin.

Before examining the contents of the new volume, it would be well to turn to a somewhat startling statement made by Mr. Barry in his preface. He says: “When we say that the test of a folk song is whether or not it is a song which ‘most people—or most *folks*—are fond of singing,’ we say it with full understanding that we are perhaps a little ‘radical’ in our approach to the question, and with acknowledgment of our need to be more specific.”

Unfortunately, the rest of the paragraph does not help us much in determining just what Mr. Barry does mean by the words “most people—most *folks*,” for after ruling out of this category those who are “professional singers” in favor of those who merely indulge in

“unmotivated spontaneous singing,” he concludes that it is the folk singer’s “prerogative to be also folk composer, to create textually and musically a song he has learned, in such a manner that it is *de facto*, though not *de iure*, his song.”

We are still in doubt as to whether or not Mr. Barry intends to equate “people” who indulge in unmotivated spontaneous singing with “folk” who do likewise. Apparently he does.

In either case, such a statement seems dangerous, for it lets down the bars to admit as “folk” any song popular enough to be indulged in by either people or folk for the sheer joy of singing. Such a ruling would admit as folk “My Old Kentucky Home,” “Old Black Joe,” and most of the group commonly known as “familiar songs” or as “songs of the people.”

A much clearer light is thrown on Mr. Barry’s meaning in an article entitled “Communal Re-creation” which appeared in the fifth number of the *Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast*, published in 1933. Here he says: “What, then, is a folk-singer? As folks make up the *folk*, so folks who sing make of any song a traditional folk-song by the process of singing from memory. To put it concretely, whoever sings a song from memory, let it be a Child ballad or Tin Pan Alley ditty, it matters not, has already become a folk-singer.” This seems unequivocal. But few, I think, would care to follow Mr. Barry quite so far, at least without certain qualifications.

The following quotations, however, taken from the same article, do much toward expressing a little more clearly Mr. Barry’s theory. He continues: “At the same time the folk-singer is equally sure that he sings a song learned from tradition exactly as his predecessor sang it, and never varies his performance. In a large proportion of cases, this is doubtless true. Yet there are other factors which make variation inevitable. There is in the folk-singer the latent creative artist, who will re-create what he has learned: there are the tricks which memory will play. Changes in the text and air of a ballad, often infinitesimal, but at times appreciable even to the layman, will emerge as expressions of the singer’s mood for the time being. Some may be permanent, others evanescent. The folk-singer will not be aware of the changes, especially with respect to the music.”

Finally, Mr. Barry concludes: “We use the phrase ‘communal re-creation’ as a formula under which to bring together the causes of memorial diversification in *text and air*. . . . We may think of

communal re-creation as the summation of an infinite series of individual re-creative acts. To Child's formula, which accounted for the archetype, we may add a second which is like unto it. We may say of the ballads, which, as we have them, consist of an indefinite number of variants of text and sets of air, that *a people and not a man made them*; provided only, that, by 'people,' we mean the keepers of the tradition—including even ballad-printers—who for the purpose of definition, constitute the 'Folk' in its widest sense."

This is better! Note that in these last two paragraphs Mr. Barry has confined his remarks entirely to "ballads"—to material already accepted as folk. He would be willing, I am sure, to add to "ballad" the phrase "and other types of folk-song." He no longer mentions "a song"—that is *any* song, nor does he include "Tin Pan Alley ditties!"

For years collectors of both schools of thought with respect to folk-song—I prefer this term to the "hostile camps" used by Mr. Barry—have been taught to record all variations in material classed as *folk*, whether caused by the folk themselves or by intrusive authors or editors, on the theory that a folk-song has texts but no text, that the history of the living organism with all its changes and variations represented the true song. By the word *text* I include tunes as well as words alone.

But to include as important, or even of any value at all, the infinitesimal and usually evanescent changes in *all* songs and in *all* tunes *each* time they were sung by *any* singer, not a professional, who sang in unmotivated and spontaneous fashion, is absurd. It would be almost as bad as if we should appoint a reporter to follow every step of every American youth on the chance that he might some day become president. It would fill our collections with wholly useless and vain repetitions.

Individual creative acts are important only if they continue long enough, and in one general direction, to cause radical changes. The frog in the well who climbed three feet each day and slipped back two each night eventually got out, but only because he was able to start a bit higher in the right direction every morning.

There is no such thing as *pure* folk or *pure* author either in the words or in the tune of any song. These are imaginary concepts, extreme points that are beyond measurement since they have neither length, breadth, or thickness. Between them lies all that we possess in music or in poetry. Folk-song is a welding of both words and

tunes, of poetry and music—plus a singer—which lies nearer to the folk point, though it may contain a reasonable amount of author. It cannot, however, be adequately judged by the standards set up for artistic poetry or for artistic music.

Equally true is it that we are all folk. Theologians tell us that we are all born with a generous share of the Old Adam. This we may or may not succeed in getting rid of, but we can never entirely get rid of our folk inheritance. It may soon become covered over in our specialized world by individual traits, individual desires, and individual strivings, but it can and does appear especially in times of great stress or emotion, when we seem to react not as individuals but as a mass. In a way our folk inheritance might be described, though somewhat clumsily, as our highest common factor in the history of the race. This basic instinct, for it is almost that, plays its part not alone in our folklore but in our folk-song as well. It has, I think, in many cases, while remaining hidden far in the background of the mind, tended to guide the singer as he intentionally or unconsciously played his part in the change of a tune or of a set of words, keeping these changes in one general direction and preventing them from counteracting each other.

Be that as it may, the most immediate need, if folk-song is to be collected and studied properly, is for students and scholars of both schools to attempt amicably to define their terms more accurately and to attempt to discover criteria or standards by means of which it would be possible to set off and to measure with some degree of success those traits both literary and musical that seem to be more characteristic of the individual author and those that seem most to belong to the folk.

The 103 songs appearing in *The New Green Mountain Songster* have been drawn mainly from the collection made by Mrs. Flanders herself, though a few were copied from old printed sources or from old manuscripts, and one or two were contributed by Mr. Phillips Barry. All of those which were collected in the field, with the single exception of about a dozen sung by Mr. Orlon Merrill of Charlestown, New Hampshire, who missed having a residence in Vermont merely by the width of the Connecticut River, were recorded entirely within the State of Vermont.

The extent and value of Mrs. Flanders' work in the field of folk-song during the past nine years may be judged by her simple statement in the Preface that the Archive of Vermont Folk-Songs, for

which she has been wholly responsible, now contains 472 traditional British songs, 311 early American songs, and 171 versions of the Child ballads, together with 421 tunes recorded on dictograph cylinders.

The book itself begins and ends appropriately with songs dedicated to Vermont, the first a hymn by William Billings whose tune was named in honor of the state in 1778, and the last a stirring call to battle by John Greenleaf Whittier published anonymously in 1883. The first obviously has no claim to being folk, nor, alas, has the second though it was technically recorded from the singing of a man who had learned it "from word of mouth." It has such a swing that it was for a time, before Whittier acknowledged it, believed to be an actual song of 1777. Here is a single verse:

*Come down with your rifles! Let gray wolf and fox
Howl on in the shade of their primitive rocks;
Let the bear feed securely from pig-pen and stall;
Here's two-legged game for your powder and ball.*

Next comes a version of a Child ballad, one of ten that are scattered throughout the book. Of these perhaps the most valuable are "The Cambric Shirt," an exceptionally complete and very old version of "The Elphin Knight"—"The Suffolk Miracle," one of the rarer of the Child ballads—"Lord Banner," an excellent version of "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard," a ballad which, curiously enough has been far better preserved in this Country than in the land of its origin.

It may interest the reader to note in the text of "The Cambric Shirt" one of the many amusing cases of garbling which often occur in the case of songs orally transmitted when the hearer failing to understand the words sung in a given line attempts to reproduce the sounds phonetically without regard for sense. Here the refrain appears as "Every globe goes merry in time," a misunderstanding in all probability of the refrain, "Every rose grows merry wi thyme," which in turn probably goes back to "Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme."

In such cases of garbling the ordinary rule is that the line or lines which make the most sense are older, but this is not always the case, for the children in the East Side of New York have changed "Heigho, the dairy O," which was meaningless to them, to "I own the cherry

O" which seemed to make some sense. An even more interesting misunderstanding occurs on page 210, where the incomprehensible line as sung by the singer "From Arts and Scientific all" turns out to be "To Dartmouth Scientific Halls."

The highest praise should be given to the transcribers of the music, not only in the case of the tunes of these ballads but throughout the entire book, for the care they have taken to preserve with accuracy the tune and the exact way in which the singer sang it. "The Suffolk Miracle" showed such marked variations throughout that it was necessary to transcribe the music for each verse. In other words, it turned out to have not one tune but substantially ten. Though such an amount of variation in the case of a single song is unusual, folksingers frequently change the tune slightly whenever they come to certain stanzas, a fact which was noted and recorded by Sharp, but which has been ignored by most subsequent collectors, who have been content to record the tune of only one or at most two verses and to assume the rest would be merely repetition.

Before passing from the ballads, mention should be made of an interesting and peculiar song, "A Gentleman of Exeter," which Mr. Barry believes Child would have accepted as a genuine ballad had he lived. Naturally no one can say. In favor of its inclusion are the facts that it has been several times recorded in the South, that it has what seems to be a "folklore background," and that similar ballads are known in Germany. Against inclusion are the style, which seems to be pretty clearly that of the street song or broadside, the moral tag at the end, and the fact that the earliest known version occurs in a printed chapbook. Here is a case where the present evidence is insufficient. The fact that it has been printed means nothing unless it can be shown that this and the other Southern versions resemble closely the printed form. To my mind, in the absence of much more positive evidence of the part played by the folk in its composition or dissemination, the style would rule it out. I quote the concluding stanzas where the lover's ghost addresses the faithless girl on her bridal night and the story ends:

*'Not all your schreeches can you save;
This mortal body I must have.
To sleep with me this night in clay.'
So then he took her straight away.*

*Her father cries, 'She is undone.'
Her husband then distracted run.
Come all fair maids, both young and old,
Don't break your vows for the sake of gold.*

Of genuine interest also to students are the "local tragedies," represented here by about a dozen texts. These are usually the work of humble authors residing in the neighborhood in which the tragedy occurred. Since they are simple in diction, and seldom show any marked author traits they sometimes are picked up, recreated, and made into folk-songs. Most of them, however, after a short time are forgotten except in the local community. "Joel Baker," "Guy Reed," "Henry K. Sawyer," "The Hartford Wreck," "Young Charlotte," "Fair Florella," and "Springfield Mountain" are good representatives of this type. Of these the last three have the best claim to being folk, for they have had a wider currency and appear in a greater number of versions than do the others.

These three songs were for years the objects of research by the late Phillips Barry, and it is only fitting at this place that mention should be made of his notes on the texts and tunes throughout the entire volume. It would be hard to praise them enough. Not only are they mines of recondite information on song histories, but they will serve as models for future investigators in the field. It was for many years a labor of love for him to trace down the histories of comparatively unknown songs, and to add to the knowledge of other collectors. He had an uncanny knack of finding what he was after, and he was indefatigable in unearthing new clues and in running them down. Not the least valuable of the pages in this present volume, pp. 273-4, contain a check of his many contributions to music, folklore, and folk-song. Even when he leaned perhaps a bit too far toward the radical side, his theories were always inspiring as well as provocative. Students and scholars of American folk-song will long revere and honor his memory.

Those of the remaining songs that seem least likely ever to deserve to be called in any way folk, are: "The Damsel's Tragedy," "Mr. Pierce's Experience," "The Death of Mrs. L. Woodburn," "Retrospect," "Lady Washington's Lamentation," and "The Lamentation over Boston," for which Mr. Barry pleads rather whimsically in his note. A single verse from "Lady Washington's Lamentation" will, I think, show why folk growth in such songs is practically impossible.

*When hope hope had fled and I saw him resigning,
His soul to his God without fear or repining,
What my heart were thy feelings, lamenting, admiring,
To behold him so calmly, so nobly expiring.*

*Oh, my Washington! O, my Washington! O, my Washington!
Has forsaken us.*

“The Joys of Mary” on the other hand is a true folk-song. It is still actively sung by negroes in Georgia, but with words differing radically from the text here printed. It began:

*Oh, de very firs' blessin' Sister Mary had
It was de blessin' o' one,
To know dat her son, Jedu,
Done suckle at de bres' so young.
Oh, hard trials, great tribulations!
Oh, hard trials, I boun' fer ter leave dis worl'.*

Blessing two was “Done read dat Bible trough,” and blessing three, “Done set dem prisoner’ free.” It contained twelve verses.

Many of the other songs deserve mention, but space and time forbid. A good many of them seem to be of an original broadside type. Some are unquestionably the work of humble authors. In judging them as folk, the entire record must be taken into account and the tunes as well as the words considered.

Judged as a whole the book is well arranged and contains enough variety in material to keep up interest on the part of the reader. Its format is attractive. In it the compilers, the publishers, the American Council of Learned Societies which helped to make publication possible, and the readers—particularly Vermonters—may take just and lasting pride.



JOURNALS OF EARLY TRAVELS IN VERMONT. A BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Librarian, St. Michael's College*

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PREFACE

The intention of the compiler has been to list the published journals or narratives of explorers and travelers in the region now known as Vermont, from the earliest days up to 1830. The list is arranged chronologically according to the year of travel. It is followed by an index of travelers.

It was not until after 1780 that the typical tourist traveler began to visit Vermont soil. The earlier travels are of four kinds: 1. Exploratory, as that of Samuel de Champlain; 2. Missionary, mainly those of the French Jesuits; 3. Accounts of Indian captivities wherein the captives were taken through Vermont to Canada by the Indians; 4. Military, such as the reports of scouting parties and excursions.

All records of actual military encounters and narratives pertaining mainly to the early settlement of towns have been excluded from this list. The present bibliography aims merely to list those records of early travel in Vermont which have been published, and which the compiler could discover. The resources of the Wilbur Library in the Fleming Museum, the Billings Library at the University of Vermont, the New York Public Library, the Columbia University Library, and the American Antiquarian Society Library were used for this purpose. Only the particular edition examined has been listed, since this suffices to indicate that the person traveled in Vermont and left a record of his travels. However, some of the titles listed exist in many other editions.

It is to be regretted that no journal of travel was found for such persons as Bishop Laval, who visited Isle La Motte in 1668, and Sieur de la Motte who built Fort Ste. Anne in 1666; Captain Jacobus de Warm who visited the deserted Fort Ste. Anne in 1690; Caleb Lyman who explored the Coos in 1704; and Captain Thomas Wells who led many scouting expeditions into eastern Vermont in 1725. However, some information concerning these travelers may be found in the various well-known histories of Vermont, and in the short supplementary list of titles appended to the main list.

Perhaps the information, descriptive and historical, embodied in the narratives listed does not add greatly to our knowledge of Vermont history. Nevertheless, viewed in perspective, these records of

travel do outline the gradual growth and metamorphosis of a territory rich in natural beauty to which the white man made a belated coming. From the character of the journals it is evident why New York on one side, Massachusetts on another, and Canada to the north, were comparatively well peopled long before the Green Mountain region. Vermont and Lake Champlain were the battle-ground, the no-man's-land, of warring Indian tribes and clashing French and English until well into the eighteenth century. How rapidly the territory was settled when finally the process began is also indicated by these records.

JOURNALS OF EARLY TRAVELS IN VERMONT

With Reference to Lake Champlain and the Upper Connecticut
River Valley, 1609-1830.

1609. *Champlain, Samuel de.*

Oeuvres de Champlain, pub. sous le patronage de l'Université Laval par l'abbé C.-H. Laverdière . . . 2 éd. Québec, Imprimé au Séminaire par G.-E. Desbarats, 1870. 5 v.

Champlain relates the discovery of the lake which bears his name in v. 3, pp. 184-195. For an interesting discussion whether or not Champlain actually set foot on Vermont soil, see Canfield, Thomas H., *Discovery, navigation and navigators of Lake Champlain*. (In *The Vermont historical gazetteer*, edited by Abby Maria Hemenway. v. 1, pp. 656-707.)

1642. *Jogues, Isaac.*

The Jogues papers, translated and arranged, with a memoir by John Gilmary Shea. (In New York Historical Society, *Collections*. N. Y., Appleton, 1857. Second series, v. 3, pt. 1, pp. 161-229.)

Contains account of Jogues' captivity and that of René Goupil, both of whom were taken through Lake Champlain by the Indians.

1652. *Poncet, Joseph.*

The capture and deliverance of Father Joseph Poncet. (In *The Jesuit relations and allied documents*, ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Cleveland, Burrows, 1896-1901. v. 40, pp. 119-155.)

Tells of his capture at Cap Rouge by the Iroquois, and his trip down Lake Champlain to their villages.

1666. *Dollier de Casson, François.*

A history of Montreal, 1640-1672, from the French of Dollier de Casson, tr. and ed. with a life of the author, by Ralph Flenley. London, Dent, 1928. 384 pp.

French text and English translation side by side. Dollier de Casson

journeyed to Fort Ste. Anne on Isle la Motte in 1666. This account appears on pp. 311-325 of this edition.

1667. *Fremin, Jacques; Pierron, Jean; and Bruyas, Jacques.* 5
Journey of three Jesuit Fathers to the lower Iroquois. (In *The Jesuit relations and allied documents*, ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Cleveland, Burrows, 1896-1901. v. 51, pp. 179-219.)

1676. *Rowlandson, Mrs. Mary.* 6
The sovereignty & goodness of God, together with the faithfulness of His promises displayed; being a narrative of the captivity and restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson . . . the second addition [sic] corrected and amended. Cambridge, Samuel Green, 1682. vi, 73 pp.
Mrs. Rowlandson was captured in 1676 and taken to Vermont. Photostat examined. pp. 3-6 missing.

1677. *Stockwell, Quintin.* 7
Account of captivity of, in his own words. (In Mather, Increase, *Remarkable providences illustrative of the earlier days of American colonization* . . . with introductory preface, by George Offor. London, John Russell Smith, 1856. pp. 28-40.)

1698. *Schuyler, John.* 8
Captain Schuyler's report of his journey to Canada. (In *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York*. Albany, Weed, Parsons & co., printers, 1854. v. 4, pp. 404-406.)

1703. *Williams, John.* 9
The redeemed captive returning to Zion; or, A faithful history of remarkable occurrences in the captivity and deliverance of Mr. John Williams . . . drawn up by himself . . . 6th ed. . . . Greenfield, Mass., Thomas Dickman, 1800. 248 pp.
Tells how he and a party of others in 1703-4 were forced by the Indians to march from Deerfield, Mass., to Montreal, through the region now called Vermont.

1703. *Williams, Stephen.* 10
Account of the captivity of the Rev. Doctor Stephen Williams, written by himself. (In Williams, Stephen W., *A biographical memoir of the Rev. John Williams, first minister of Deerfield, Massachusetts* . . . Greenfield, Mass., Ingersoll, 1837. pp. 102-110.)
The son of Rev. John Williams, taken by the Indians in the Deerfield massacre and brought with the other captives to Canada. An extract from Rev. Dr. Stephen Williams' journal is printed in the same book on pp. 113-127. It tells of a party of captives taken to Canada by the Indians in 1696 by way of Otter Creek.

1707. *Stoddard, Capt.* 11
Capt. Stoddard's journal of his scout from Deerfield to Onion or French River in 1707. (In Williams, Stephen W., *A biographical memoir of the Rev. John Williams, first minister of Deerfield, Massachusetts* . . . Greenfield, Mass., Ingersoll, 1837. p. 113.)

1725. *Wright, Benjamin.* 12
A true journal of our march from N-field to Mesixcouk Bay under ye command of Benj. Wright Captain, begun July 27, A. D. 1725. (In Temple, Josiah Howard, and Sheldon, George, *History of the town of Northfield, Massachusetts . . . Albany, N. Y., Joel Munsell, 1875.* pp. 210-212.)

1730. *Cabot, Mary R.* 13
Annals of Brattleboro, 1681-1895, compiled and edited by Mary R. Cabot. Brattleboro, Vermont, E. L. Hildreth & Co., 1921. 2v.
V. 1, pp. 12-14. "This graphic account of a journey from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain in 1730 is taken from an old diary."

1730. *Corse, James.* 14
Journal of James Corse of Deerfield. (In Sheldon, George, *A history of Deerfield, Massachusetts . . . Deerfield, Mass., Pocumtuck Valley memorial association, inc., 1895.* v. 1, p. 518.)
Corse set out from Fort Dummer in 1730 to redeem his sister who was an Indian captive in Canada. This journal also appears in Hall, Benjamin, *History of Eastern Vermont.* N. Y., Appleton, 1858. Corse's name is variously spelled: Corse, Cross, Coss.

1735. *Crespel, Emmanuel.* 15
Travels in North America, by M. Crespel. With a narrative of his shipwreck, and extraordinary hardships and sufferings on the Island of Anticosti; and an account of that island, and of the shipwreck of His Majesty's Ship Active, and others. London, Sampson Low, 1797. xxviii, 187 pp.
In 1755 Father Crespel traveled through Lake Champlain from Montreal to Crown Point.

1745. *How, Nehemiah.* 16
A narrative of the captivity of Nehemiah How in 1745-1747. Reprinted from the original edition of 1748, with introduction and notes by Victor Hugo Paltsits. Cleveland, Burrows, 1904. 72 pp. (Narratives of captives.)
Captured at the Great-Meadow Fort, now Putney, Vt., and taken across the state toward Lake Champlain.

1746. *Norton, John.* 17
Narrative of the capture and burning of Fort Massachusetts by the French and Indians . . . Now first published with notes, by Samuel G. Drake. Albany, Munsell, 1870. 51 pp.
This is a reprint of *The redeemed captive*, the journal of Rev. John Norton, who with others was taken through Vermont and Lake Champlain by the French and Indians in 1746.

1748. *Hawks, John.* 18
Fragment of John Hawks' journal, Apr. 25 to Apr. 30, 1748. (In Sheldon, George, *A history of Deerfield, Massachusetts . . . Deerfield, Mass., Pocumtuck Valley memorial association, inc., 1895.* pp. 558-559.)

Hawks traveled from Deerfield to Montreal and back through Vermont.

1748. *Melven, Capt. Eleazer.*

19

Journal of a tour of inspection through Vermont in May, 1748. (In New Hampshire historical society. *Collections*. v. 5, p. 207.)

An extract from this journal is also printed in Caverly, A. M., *History of the town of Pittsford, Vt.* Rutland, Tuttle, 1872. pp. 6-10.

1749. *Kalm, Peter.*

20

Travels into North America . . . translated into English by John Reinhold Forster . . . Warrington, William Eyres, 1770. 3 v.

V. 3 describes Lake Champlain and adjacent territory.

1749. *Stevens, Phineas.*

21

Journal of Capt. Phineas Stevens to and from Canada—1749. (In New Hampshire historical society. *Collections*, 1837. v. 5, pp. 199-205.)

Capt. Stevens set out from Boston, stopped at Fort Dummer, and proceeded to Albany, Saratoga, and thence to Montreal.

1754. *Johnson, Mrs. Susanna (Willard).*

22

A narrative of the captivity of Mrs. Johnson. (In *Indian narratives; containing a correct and interesting history of the Indian wars, from the landing of our Pilgrim fathers, 1620, to Gen. Wayne's victory, 1794, to which is added a correct account of the capture and sufferings of Mrs. Johnson, Zadock Steele and others; and also a thrilling account of the burning of Royalston*. Claremont, N. H., Tracy and brothers, 1854. pp. 128-181.)

1754. *Powers, Grant.*

23

Historical sketches of the discovery, settlement, and progress of events in the Coos country and vicinity, principally included between the years 1754 and 1785. Haverhill, N. H., Hayes, 1841. vi, 240 pp.

Contains the journal of *Capt. Peter Powers*, of Hollis, N. H., who explored the Coos country in 1754.

1755. *Howe, Mrs. Jemima.*

24

The affecting history of Mrs. Howe, the wife of a British officer in America, who, after seeing her husband murdered, was, with her seven children, seized by the Indians, and carried by them many hundred miles to the country of their tribe . . . London, J. Bailey, 1815[?]. 28 pp.

Mrs. Howe was captured in 1755 in the neighborhood of Vernon, Vermont.

1755. *Nash, Stephen.*

25

Journal of Stephen Nash. A. D. 1755 4th day of the week, May 6th . . . May 8th. (In Fairbanks, Edward T., *The town of St. Johnsbury, Vt.* St. Johnsbury, The Cowles press, 1914. p. 13.)

"His journal recorded on yellow parchment paper furnished by the Colonies, has been preserved in the Stark family. In 1912, a copy of the entries that relate to this locality was obtained by Royal A. Moore

. . . as the record of the first white man to set foot in what is now the township of St. Johnsbury."

1756. *Rogers, Robert.*

26

Journals of Major Robert Rogers; containing an account of the several excursions he made under the generals who commanded upon the continent of North America, during the late war . . . with an introduction and notes . . . by Franklin B. Hough. Albany, Joel Munsell's sons, 1883. 297 pp.

Major Rogers travelled the Coos country and up the Connecticut beyond White River Falls, as well as both shores of Lake Champlain.

1757. *Brown, Thomas.*

27

A plain narrative of the uncommon sufferings and remarkable deliverance of Thomas Brown of Charlestown, in New England . . . 2d ed. Boston, Fowle and Draper, 1760. Reprinted, N. Y., William Abbott, 1908. (*Magazine of history with notes and queries*. Extra no. 4.)

Brown was captured in 1757 near Fort William Henry and taken via Lake Champlain to Montreal.

1760. *Bayley, Jacob.*

28

Part of the Journal of Captain Jacob Bayley, in the Old French war. (1) A journal of our Embarkation and Proceeding down Lake George, and Siege of Ticonderoga. (2) In camp at Isle au Noix, Aug. 24, 1760. (In Wells, Frederic P., *History of Newbury, Vermont* . . . St. Johnsbury, Vt., The Caledonian company, 1902. pp. 376-380.)

"It is not known that any other portions of his journal remain."

1760. *Kent, Col. Jacob.*

29

Extracts from the diary of Col. Jacob Kent. (In Wells, Frederic P., *History of Newbury, Vermont* . . . St. Johnsbury, Vt., The Caledonian company, 1902. pp. 380-382.)

Col. Kent was with Col. Goffe's regiment which cleared the military road from Charlestown to Lake Champlain opposite Crown Point.

1765. *Gilliland, William.*

30

Pioneer history of the Champlain Valley; being an account of the settlement of the town of Willsborough by William Gilliland, together with his journal and other papers, and a memoir, and historical and illustrative notes, by Winslow C. Watson. Albany, N. Y., Munsell, 1863. viii, 231 pp.

Gilliland in his journal tells of exploring Grand Isle and the Lamoille River, and mentions a trip to Shelburne, Vt., which lies across the lake from Willsborough.

1769. *Allen, Ira.*

31

Autobiography. (In Wilbur, James Benjamin, *Ira Allen, Founder of Vermont, 1751-1814*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928. v. 1, pp. 1-59.)

1774. *Harvey, Alexander.*

32

Journal of Colonel Alexander Harvey of Scotland and Barnet, Vermont.

May 8th, 1775. (In Vermont historical society. *Proceedings*, 1921-23.
pp. 199-262.)

1775. *Allen, Ethan.*

33

A narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's captivity, from the time of his being taken by the British, near Montreal, on the 25th day of May, 1775, containing his voyages and travels. . . . Written by himself, and now published for the information of the curious in all nations. Philadelphia, Wm. Mentz, 1779. 64 pp.

1776. *Alexander, Thomas.*

34

Diary of march to join the expedition against Canada, 1776. (In Temple, Josiah Howard, and Sheldon, George, *A history of the town of Northfield, Massachusetts* . . . Albany, N. Y., Joel Munsell, 1875. pp. 326-328.)

This expedition started up the Connecticut valley from Northfield, but never reached Canada.

1776. *Miner, Thomas.*

35

Diary of travels of Thos. Miner & Ezekiel Wheeler on a scout from the lower Cohoos round the highth land west of Connecticut River to the upper Cooho'os by order & direction of John Hurd Esq. (In New Hampshire. *State papers*. v. 17, pp. 69-71.)

1776. *Paine, Samuel.*

36

Diary of travel on a scouting party by order and direction from John Hurd Esqr. of Haverhill Cohoos. (In New Hampshire. *State papers*. v. 17, p. 72.)

Traveled over much of Vermont in 15 days.

1776. *Robbins, Ammi R.*

37

Journal of the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, a chaplain in the American army, in the northern campaign of 1776. New Haven, printed by B. L. Hamlen, printer to Yale College, 1850. 48 pp.

Contains account of journey through Rupert, Pawlet, Dorset, Manchester, Arlington, Bennington, etc. Sabin lists only extant copies in Boston Public Library and Boston Athenaeum. This item I did not examine.

1776. *Vose, Joseph.*

38

Journal of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Vose. (In Colonial society of Massachusetts. *Publications*, 1901. v. 7, pp. 248-262.)

Vose records his movements up and down the Champlain valley in 1776.

1777. *Fletcher, Ebenezer.*

39

Narrative of the captivity & sufferings of Ebenezer Fletcher, of New-Ipswich . . . written by himself, and published at the request of his friends. 4th ed., rev. and enl. New-Ipswich, N. H., printed by S. Wilder, 1827. Reprinted, Tarrytown, N. Y., William Abbott, 1929. (In *Magazine of history with notes and queries*, v. 38, pp. 117-139, 1929.)

1777. *Panther, Abraham.*

40

A surprising narrative of a young woman discovered in a cave in the wilderness, after having been taken by the savage Indians, and seeing no human being for the space of nine years. In a letter by a gentleman to his friend. Leominster, printed for Chapman Whitcomb by Charles Prentiss, 1799. 12 pp.

Photostat copy examined. The girl was captured in 1777.

1779. *Webster, Isaac.*

41

A narrative of the captivity of Isaac Webster, with introduction by Winthrop H. Duncan. 60 copies printed for Charles F. Heartman. Metuchen, N. J., 1927. vii, 24 pp. (Heartman's historical series, no. 44.)

1780. *Avery, George.*

42

Narrative of capture by Indians. (In Lovejoy, Evelyn M. Wood, *History of Royalton, Vermont, with family genealogies 1769-1911*. Burlington, Vt., Free Press printing company, 1911. pp. 151-156.)

Captured near Sharon, Vt., by Indians and taken via Randolph woods, Colchester, Grand Isle and up the lake to Canada.

1780. *Carpenter, Jonathan.*

43

Extracts from diary. (In Newton, William Monroe, *History of Barnard, Vt., with family genealogies, 1761-1927*. Montpelier, Vermont historical society, 1928. v. 2, pp. 71-72.)

Describes scouting trip from Barnard through Middlesex, Brookfield, Deerfield and Northfield.

1780. *Jones, Abner.*

44

Memoirs of the life and experience, travels and preaching of Abner Jones. Exeter, N. H., printed by Norris & Sawyer for the author, 1807. 108 pp.

"When I was in my eighth year (born 1772) my father removed into a town called Bridgwater, in the state of Vermont."

1780. *Steele, Zadock.*

45

The Indian captive; or a narrative of the captivity and sufferings of Zadock Steele. Related by himself. To which is prefixed an account of the burning of Royalston . . . Montpelier, Vt., Published by the author, E. P. Walton, printer, 1818. 142 pp.

Steele was captured in 1780.

1781. *Johnson, Thomas.*

46

Journal of Thomas Johnson while a captive in Canada, 1781. (In Wells, Frederic P., *History of Newbury, Vermont . . . St. Johnsbury, Vt., The Caledonian company, 1902.* pp. 384-393.)

"The spelling and use of capitals are modernized." Describes capture and trip to Canada.

1782. *Smith, Elias.*

47

Life, conversion, preaching, travels, and sufferings of Elias Smith, writ-

ten by himself . . . Vol. I. Portsmouth, N. H., Beck & Foster, 1816.

406 pp.

Traveled many times through the state of Vermont.

1784. *Sailly, Peter.* 48
Diary of Peter Sailly on a journey in America in the year 1784. (In Bixby, George S., *Peter Sailly (1754-1826) a pioneer of the Champlain Valley, with extracts from his diary and letters.* Albany, University of the State of New York, 1919. pp. 58-70. Bulletin 680 of the University of the State of New York. New York State Library. History Bulletin 12.)

Sailly traveled with Gilliland up Lake Champlain in 1784.

1786. *Judd, Eben Warner.* 49
Extract from journal . . . of the upper Coos, Sept. 6, 1786—Apr. 12, 1787. (In *Vermont historical gazetteer*, ed. by Abby Maria Hemenway. Burlington, Vt., Hemenway, 1867. v. 1, pp. 944-946.)

1788. *Day, Jeremiah.* 50
A missionary tour to Vermont, 1788. From the manuscript journal of the Rev. Jeremiah Day. (In Vermont historical society. *Proceedings*, 1930. New series, v. 1, pp. 169-176.)

1789. *Hubbell, Seth.* 51
A narrative of the sufferings of Seth Hubbell & family, in his beginning a settlement in the town of Wolcott, in the state of Vermont. Danville, Vt., E. & W. Eaton, printers, 1826. 23 pp.
Set out in February, 1789, from Norwalk, Conn., to Wolcott, Vt.

1789. *Matthews, W.* 52
An historical review of North America containing a geographical, political, and natural history of the British and other European settlements, the United and apocryphal States, and a general state of the laws . . . Dublin, C. Brown, 1789. 2 v.
V. 2, pp. 216-225, are concerned with Vermont.

1789. *Perkins, Nathan.* 53
A narrative of a tour through the state of Vermont from April 27 to June 12, 1789, by the Rev'd Nathan Perkins of Hartford . . . Woodstock, Vt., Elm tree press, 1920. 31 pp.

1791. *Lincklaen, John.* 54
Travels in the year 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont . . . N. Y., Putnam, 1897. xi, 162 pp.
Journals of John Lincklaen, agent of the Holland Land company, with a biographical sketch and notes.

1793. *Edward, Duke of Kent.* 55
Prince Edward in Burlington, in 1793. From recollections of Horace Loomis. By J. N. Pomeroy, Esq. (In *Vermont historical gazetteer*, ed. by Abby Maria Hemenway. Burlington, Vt., Hemenway, 1867. v. 1, pp. 499-500.)

1794. *Dow, Lorenzo.* 56
History of Cosmopolite: or the writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow: containing his experience and travels, in Europe and America . . . Cincinnati, Anderson, Gates & Wright, 1860. vii, 720 pp.

Diary, June 12, 1794—April 12, 1816, of a Methodist circuit rider in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

1795. *Asbury, Henry, bishop.* 57
Excerpts from journal. (In Newton, William Monroe, *History of Barnard, Vt., with family genealogies, 1761-1927*. Montpelier, Vermont historical society, 1928. v. 1, pp. 183-186, 340-352.)
Traveled through Vermont between 1795-1811 as Methodist preacher. In these pages also are recorded extracts from the journal of Rev. Henry Boehm, traveling companion of Bishop Asbury.

1795. *Weld, Isaac, Jr.* 58
Travels through the states of North America, and the provinces of upper and lower Canada, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797. 2d ed. London, John Stockdale, 1799. 2 v.
V. 1, letter xxi, contains account of trip through Lake Champlain, with description of adjacent Vermont landscape.

1796. *Chapman, Thomas.* 59, 60
Journal of a tour through the Eastern states, 1796. From the original manuscript, in the possession of his grandson, George Temple Chapman, Esq. of New York. (In *The Historical magazine, and notes and queries* . . . Second series, v. 6, pp. 70-75, Aug. 1869.)
Journey from Throgg's Neck, through the western part of the state of Vermont. (*Ibid.* Second series, v. 7, pp. 16-19, Jan. 1870.)

1797. *Graham, John Andrew.* 61
A descriptive sketch of the present state of Vermont. One of the United States of America. London, Henry Fry, 1797. vii, 186 pp.

1798. *Dwight, Timothy.* 62
Travels in New-England and New-York . . . London, William Baynes and son, 1823. 4 v.
V. 2 and 3 especially relate to Vermont.

1800. *Davis, John Russell.* 63
Diary of a journey through Massachusetts, Vermont & eastern New York in the summer of 1800, probably by John Russell Davis. (In Vermont historical society. *Proceedings*, 1919-1920. pp. 159-183.)

1805. *Watson, Elkanah.* 64
Men and times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including his journals of travels in Europe and America, from the year 1777 to 1842 . . . ed. by his son, Winslow C. Watson. 2d ed. New York, Dana and co., 1857. 557 pp.
Ch. XVI quotes from his journal of a visit to Vermont in 1805.

1806. *Lambert, John.* 65
 Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the years 1806, 1807, & 1808 . . . 3d ed., cor. and improved. London, Baldwin Cradock, and Joy, 1816. 2 v.
 V. 2 contains chapters relating to Vermont.

1806. *Melish, John.* 66
 Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810, & 1811 . . . Philadelphia, printed for the author, 1812. 2 v.
 V. 1, ch. XIV, is on Vermont.

1808. *Cram, Jacob.* 67
 Journal of a missionary tour in 1808 through the new settlements of northern New Hampshire and Vermont, from the original manuscript of Rev. Jacob Cram, A. M. Rochester, N. Y., The Genesee press, 1909. 37 pp. (Rochester reprints, XI.)

1808. *Kendall, Edward Augustus.* 68
 Travels through the northern parts of the United States, in the years 1807 and 1808 . . . N. Y., I. Riley, 1809. 3 v.
 V. 3 is nearly all Vermont description.

1809. *Colby, John.* 69
 The life, experience and travels of John Colby, preacher of the gospel. Written by himself. With an appendix. Newport, N. H., French, 1831. 2 v. in 1.
 Traveled through Vermont and New Hampshire preaching.

1815. *Plessis, Joseph Octave, bishop.* 70
 Pastoral visitation of Bishop Plessis of Quebec, A. D. 1815. Extracts from his journal. From the original in the church archives at Quebec. Translation by Abbé Lionel Lindsay. (In American Catholic historical society of Philadelphia. *Records*, 1904. v. 15, pp. 377-402.)
 At the request of Bishop Cheverus of Boston, Bishop Plessis visited the Indian mission at Pleasant Point, in Maine, returning to Quebec via Portland, Boston, Worcester, Hartford, New Haven, New York, Albany, Lake Champlain, and Burlington, Vt.

1816. Pedestrian tour. 71
 (In *North American review*, v. 4, pp. 175-186, Jan. 1817.)
 Journal of a tour through Vermont and New England in 1816.

1817. *Monroe, James, president of U. S.* 72
 A narrative of a tour of observation, made during the summer of 1817 . . . through the North-Eastern and North-Western departments of the union . . . Philadelphia, S. A. Mitchell, 1818. xii, 228, xxxvi p.
 Ch. VIII concerns the President's visit to Vermont.

1819. *Silliman, Benjamin.* 73
 Remarks made on a short tour, between Hartford and Quebec, in the autumn of 1819, by the author of a Journal of travels in England, Holland and Scotland. New-Haven, S. Converse, 1820. 407 pp.

1820. *Darusmont, Mrs. Francis Wright.* 74
Views of society and manners in America; in a series of letters from that country to a friend in England, during the years 1818, 1819, and 1823. By an Englishwoman. London, Longman, Hurst, etc., etc., 1821. x, 523 pp.
Letter xvii deals with Vermont.

1821. *Stansbury, P.* 75
A pedestrian tour of two thousand three hundred miles, in North America. To the Lakes,—The Canadas,—And the New England states. Performed in the autumn of 1821. N. Y., Myers and Smith, 1822. viii, 274 pp.
Account of journey through Vermont contained in pp. 232-242.

1822. *Blane, W. N.* 76
An excursion through the United States and Canada during the years 1822-23. By an English gentleman. London, Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1823. 511 pp.
A brief description of Vermont with reference to Burlington, Montpelier and Lake Champlain, on pp. 446-448.

1824. *Allen, Joseph Dana.* 77
A journal of an excursion made by the corps of cadets of the A. L. S. & M. Academy, Norwich, Vt. under command of Capt. A. Partridge, June, 1824. Windsor, Vt., printed by Simeon Ide, 1824. 48 pp.

1824. *Levasseur, Auguste.* 78
Lafayette en Amerique, en 1824 et 1825, ou Journal d'un voyage aux Etats-Unis. Paris, Baudouin, 1829. 2 v.
Levasseur was Lafayette's secretary and traveling companion. In v. 2, ch. XIV, he describes Lafayette's visit to Vermont.

1825. *Bernhard, Karl, duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach.* 79
Reise Sr. hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826. Weimar, Hoffmann, 1828. 2 v. in 1.
Contains account of visit to Vermont in v. 1, ch. IX.

1827. *Beaufoy, Mark.* 80
Tour through parts of the United States and Canada. By a British subject. London, Longman, Rees, etc., etc., 1828. viii, 141 pp.
His visit to Vermont in 1827 is described in letter ix.

1828. *Stuart, James.* 81
Three years in North America. 2d ed., rev. Edinburgh, Robert Cadell, 1833. 2 v.
He describes Lake Champlain and Burlington, Vt., in v. 1, ch. IX.

1830. *Harding, Charles R.* 82
Excerpts from manuscript autobiography of Rev. Charles R. Harding. (In Newton, William Munroe, *History of Barnard, Vt., with family genealogies, 1761-1927*. Montpelier, Vermont historical society, 1928. v. 1, pp. 309-312.)

Rev. Harding traveled on both sides of the White River, having been assigned in 1830 as minister on the Old Barnard circuit.

1830. *O'Callaghan, Jeremiah.*

83

Usury, funds, and banks . . . to which is prefixed a narrative of the author's controversy with Bishop Coppinger, and of his sufferings for justice sake . . . Burlington, printed for the author, 1834. 380 pp.

The autobiographical introduction or narrative tells of his coming to Vermont in 1830.

A SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF BOOKS GIVING INFORMATION ON EARLY TRAVELERS IN VERMONT

Bacon, Edwin Munroe.

84

The Connecticut River and the valley of the Connecticut . . . N. Y., Putnam, 1906. xx, 487 pp.

Information on travels in the Coos country.

Chase, Francis, ed.

85

Gathered sketches from the early history of New Hampshire and Vermont; containing vivid and interesting accounts of a great variety of the adventures of our forefathers, and of other incidents of olden time. Original and selected. Claremont, N. H., Tracy, Kennedy & co., 1856. 215 pp.

Coolidge, Guy Omeron.

86

The French occupation of the Champlain valley from 1609 to 1759. (In Vermont historical society. *Proceedings*, 1938. New series, v. 6, pp. 143-313.)

Gives much information on French visits to Vermont and Lake Champlain. Contains a map showing the early routes and roads used by Indians and military expeditions.

Canfield, Thomas H.

87

Discovery, navigation and navigators of Lake Champlain. (In *The Vermont historical gazetteer*, edited by Abby Maria Hemenway, Burlington, Vt., A. M. Hemenway, 1867. v. 1, pp. 656-707.)

Hayes, Lyman S.

88

The Connecticut river valley in southern Vermont and New Hampshire. Historical sketches. Rutland, Vt., Tuttle, c1929. 358 pp.

Pp. 34-36 tells of visit of noted traveler John Ledyard to Bellows Falls in 1772.

Jesuit relations and allied documents . . . edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Cleveland, Burrows, 1896-1901. 73 v.

89

V. 51, p. 275 tells of visit of Bishop Laval de Montmorency to Fort Ste. Anne in 1667.

Kellogg, David Sherwood.

90

Early mention of some events and places in the valley of Lake Champlain . . . (In Vermont historical society. *Proceedings*, 1901-1902. pp. 53-64.)

Kerlidou, Joseph.

St. Anne of Isle La Motte, in Lake Champlain. Its history, rules of the confraternity, etc. Burlington, 1895. 131 pp.

Many references to the pioneers who built and were stationed at Fort Ste. Anne.

Sulte, Benjamin.

La regiment de Carignan; mélanges historiques, v. 8. Etudes éparses et inédites. Montreal, Ducharme, 1922. 144 pp.

On p. 45 he tells of voyage of M. de Courcelles to Isle la Motte. Refers also to Fort Ste. Anne.

Temple, Josiah Howard, and Sheldon, George.

A history of the town of Northfield, Massachusetts . . . Albany, N. Y., Joel Munsell, 1875. vi, 636 pp.

Information on Fort Dummer, and on various scouting parties from that neighborhood. Contains brief excerpts from the diary of Capt. Joseph Kellogg of Northfield who led several scouting parties into the upper Coos country and other parts of Vermont. His complete diary is unpublished, in the *Archives of the State of Massachusetts*, v. 38.

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FIRST SUPPLEMENT TO INDEX OF BALLADS AND
FOLK-SONGS IN THE ARCHIVE OF VERMONT
FOLK-SONGS AT SMILEY MANSE,
SPRINGFIELD, VERMONT

[Original Index in *Proceedings*: Vol. VII, No. 2.
June, 1939, p. 73.]

By HELEN HARTNESS FLANDERS
Collector and Archivist

CHILD BALLADS IN THE ARCHIVE OF VERMONT FOLK-SONGS

Smiley Manse, Springfield, Vermont

<i>No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Versions</i>
CHILD 2	THE CAMBRIC SHIRT	4 with tunes
CHILD 26	THREE RAVENS	2 with tunes
CHILD 46	CAPTAIN WEDDERBURN'S COURTSHIP	1 with tune
CHILD 105	THE BAILIFF'S DAUGHTER OF ISLINGTON	1 with tune
CHILD 155	THE JEW'S DAUGHTER	1 with tune
CHILD 200	GYPSY DAISY (1724) IN TEA TABLE	2 with tunes

BRITISH FOLK-SONGS AND BALLADS IN THE ARCHIVE

<i>Title</i>	<i>Versions</i>
ALL THINGS	1
ALONZO AND IMOGENE	2 with tunes
ANSWER TO KATE KEARNEY	1
BIRD'S SONG, THE	2 with tunes
BOLD DIGHTON	1
BRENNON ON THE MOOR	5 with tunes
BRIDGET MCSHEEDY	1
BUMPATY BUMP	1 with tune
DERBY RAM	6 with tunes
DIAMOND RING, THE	1
DRAW THE SWORD SCOTLAND	1
FAIRY BOY, THE	1 with tune
FALSE YOUNG MEN	1
GOLDEN BULL	1
GOSPORT TRAGEDY, THE	1
GREEN WILLOW TREE, THE	2 with tunes
HAWKS PRIVATEER	1
HOLLY TREE, THE	1 with tune
I'LL HANG MY HAT ON THE WILLOW TREE	2 with tunes
IMPROVED KELLY THE PIRATE	1
I WON'T BE A NUN	1 with tune
JACK MONROE	1 with tune
JEW SONG, THE	1 with tune
JIMMY AND NANCY	1 with tune
JOHNNY BARBOUR	1 with tune
JOHNNY JARMAN	2
KATE DALRYMPLE	1 with tune
KATE KEARNEY	1
KINK ALONG DUDY I DAY	1 with tune

<i>Title</i>	<i>Versions</i>
LADY GREENSLEEVES	2
LADY'S CHALLENGE, A	2
LORD O' COCKPEN	1 with tune
LOVE IN A TUB	1
LOVERS DOWNFALL	1
MAJOR'S ONLY SON	1
MARY HAMILTON	1
MULBERRY DISASTER, THE	1 with tune
MY MITHER MENT MY OLD BREEKS	1
MYSELF AND MY BIT OF A STICK	1
PASTORAL	1
PAT LADORE	1 with tune
PIRATE SONG	1
POOR OLD MAIDS	1 with tune
PRIMROSE HILL	2
ROSE OF BRITAIN'S ISLE, THE	1 with tune
SEVEN JOYS OF MARY, THE	1 with tune
SIR JAMES CAMPBELL	1
SOLDIER'S DREAM, THE	1 with tune
STARLING BIRD, THE	2 with tunes
TEMPEST, THE	1
TIDY ONE, THE	1
TWAS EARLY IN THE SPRING	1
TWELVE DAYS OF CHRISTMAS	3 with tunes
TWELVE JOYS OF MARY	4 with tunes

AMERICAN FOLK-SONGS AND BALLADS IN THE ARCHIVE

AMERICA, COMMERCE AND FREEDOM	1
BANKS OF THE HUDSON	1
BATTLE OF ERIE	1
BATTLE OF THE KEGS	2
BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS	1
BLOW YE WINDS IN THE MORNING	1 with tune
BURGOYNE'S LAMENTATION	1
CHINA METAL	1 with tune
CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIERE	1
CORK LEG	2
DUMMY LINE	1 with tune
DRUNKARD'S DOOM, THE	1 with tune
DYING SARGENT, THE	4
FAIR ROSINA	2
FAVORITE SONG	1 with tune
FICKLE WILD ROSE	1 with tune
FLAVEL S. LUTHER	1 with tune
FOR-GET-ME-NOT	1

<i>Title</i>	<i>Versions</i>
GENERAL WOLFE	5 with tunes
GET AWAY FROM DAT WINDOW	1 with tune
GOLDEN BULL, THE	1
GUMBO CHAFF	1
I BEG PARDON LADIES	1
I'D BE A BUTTERFLY	1
I'LL BE READY	1 with tune
JACKSON WILL BE PRESIDENT	1
JIM CROW	1
LAKE OF PONCHARTRAIN	1 with tune
LANDLADY OF FRANCE	1
LAZARUM AND DIVIUM	1 with tune
KEEP HER FROM THE FOGGY DEW	1 with tune
LILY OF THE WEST	1 with tune
LITTLE PIGS	1 with tune
MAJOR ANDRE AND ARNOLD'S TREASON	1
MORMON'S LAMENT, THE	1 with tune
NAPOLEON'S GRAVE	1 with tune
NELLIE BLY	2 with tunes
O MY DEARY	1
POLKO'S DAUGHTER	1 with tune
POOR FARMER QUINN	1
REVOLUTIONARY FRAGMENT	1
ROBERT KIDD	2 with tunes
ROSE TREE, A	1
SEGAR, THE	1 with tune
SHINE ON JERUSALEM	1 with tune
SHOVELLING COAL	1
SWEeper SONG, THE	2
TAKING OF BALISLE, THE	1
TEXAS RANGER, THE	5 with tunes
WALBRIDGE SONG, THE	1
WHEN PAT COMES OVER THE MOUNTAIN	1 with tune
WILD COWBOY, THE	2 with tunes
YANKEE FROLICS	1
YANKEE SONG	1
YOUNG JOHNNY	1
YOUNG MEN ARE PRONE TO LIE	1 with tune
YOU OUGHT TO HAVE KNOWN	1 with tune

FIDDLE TUNES

ARKANSAS TRAVELER	2
BENNINGTON QUICKSTEP	1
BETSEY BAKER	1
BLIND DUNBAR	1
BONAPARTE'S MARCH ACROSS THE ALPS	1

<i>Title</i>	<i>Versions</i>
BRATTLEBORO QUICKSTEP	1
MISS BROWN'S REEL	1
CAMPBELLS ARE COMIN', THE	1
CHORUS JIG	1
CINCINNATI HORNPIPE	1
CLARK'S FAVORITE	1
COLLEGE HORNPIPE	1
COTILLION	1
DEVIL'S DREAM	2
DURAND'S HORNPIPE	2
FAIRY DANCE	2
FIFE AND DRUM	1
FISHER'S HORNPIPE	1
GIRL I LEFT BEHIND ME, THE	1
GRAY GOOSE, THE	1
HASTE TO THE WEDDING	1
HULL'S VICTORY	1
IRISH WASHERWOMAN, THE	1
LADY BARTLETT'S WHIM	1
LADY WALPOLE'S REEL	1
LARRY O'GAFF	1
MILITARY SCHOTTISCHE	1
MISS MCLEOD'S REEL	1
MONEY MUSK	1
OLD ZIP COON	1
ON THE ROAD TO BOSTON	1
OPERA REEL	1
OSTINELLA HORNPIPE	1
OVER THE WATER TO CHARLIE	1
"PIG TOWN" FLING	1
POP GOES THE WEASEL	1
PORTLAND FANCY	2
ROCKY ROAD TO DUBLIN	1
ROSE BUD REEL	1
ROSS' FAVORITE	1
ROVING SAILOR	1
RUSEL'S JIG	1
SOLDIER'S JOY	1
SPEED THE PLOUGH	1
STEAMBOAT QUICKSTEP	1
TEMPEST, THE	1
THUNDER HORNPIPE	1
VINTON'S HORNPIPE	1
WHITE COCKADE, THE	1
WILD GOOSE CHASE	1
WRECKER'S DAUGHTER, THE	1

LIST OF TUNES RECORDED BY DICTAPHONE

<i>Singer</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Song</i>	<i>Record No.</i>
Adams		Boney Was a Warrior, Sally Brown Way a Day	126
Barton	Quechee	Pop Goes the Weasel, Wake Up Susan, Turkey in the Straw, Arkansas Traveler, Unnamed Tune	165
Buckingham	Belmont, Mass.	Polko's Daughter	189
Campbell	Underhill	Lazarum and Divium, Nellie Bly	190
Curtis	Rockingham	Courtin' in the Kitchen, Slavery Days, Dangers of the Sea	180
		Gay Spanish Maid, Fair Florella	157
		Edward Howland	158
Davis	Milton	Lady Margaret and King William	168
		Black Eyed Susan, Last Fierce Charge	170
		Libby Prison	171
		Lord Bakeman	172
		Backwoodsman	173
		Battle of Lake Erie	174
		Song of all Songs	175
		Green Willow Tree, Young Sailor	
		Boy	176
		Fairy Tale, Brinigan's Pups	177
		Scolding Wife, Biddy Will Meet Me	178
Earle		Milwaukee Fire, Backwoodsman's Alphabet	179
Erskine	Cheshire, Conn.	The Seven Joys of Mary, Twelve Days of Christmas, The Two Crows, Sheffield	185
		Apprentice, Black-eyed Susan, Gypsy Daisy	186
		King William and Lady Margaret, Young Men Are Prone to Lie, The Bird Song, We Are Marching Down to Quebec	187
Fairbanks	N. Springfield	The Jew's Daughter (Child 155), Rose of Britain's Isle	
		The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington, Barbara Allen	182
		Lady Margaret and Sweet William	183
Haskins	N. Adams, Mass.	Backwoodsman, Texas Ranger, Jew's Daughter	164
Kennison	Searsburg	The Drunkard's Doom	161
Martin	Plainfield, N. H.	Rise Up Willie Riley, Trip We Took Over the Mountain	162
			181

<i>Singer</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Song</i>	<i>Record No.</i>
Moses	N.Woodstock, N.H.	House Carpenter	121
Raymond	Springfield	Our Good Man	153
Smith	Burlington	Frog Song, Whickaty-Whack	163
Sparkes	Weston	Flying Cloud	154
Spaulding	Cheshire, Conn.	On Springfield Mountain, In Yonder Wood	188
Taggart	Greenfield, Mass.	Down by the Green Meadow, The Fox Walks Out, We Cantered Along, Jimmie and Nancy, Grave of Napoleon	184
Torp	Perkinsville	Johnny Barbour	167
Underhill	Bellows Falls	Scarborough Fair, Scolding Wife	153
		Garden Gate, Ellen the Fair, Joys of Mary	155



POSTSCRIPT

SOME of us who are interested in Vermont history often ponder the possibilities that might emerge if we could invade all the attics of all the old homes in the state. Of course, collectors and antique hunters have been ahead of us—many times, no doubt, but we are interested in seeking what does not concern them—old journals, diaries, correspondence. By a simple process of mathematics one can estimate that not even a third of the correspondence valuable to the historian has been uncovered in the state. Here and there, we pick up a trail, run it down and meet this answer: "Why, yes, we had some old letters of our great-grandfather among the rubbish in the attic, but we had a real cleaning-out and burned all of it." Once we just missed a trunk with some priceless letters in it: the trunk was sold as a valuable item, but the letters, of course, were useless. Luckily, here and there some one with vision and understanding preserves the old diaries and letters. In this issue, for instance, we have a personality of the past recreated for us through the skillful use of letters. Moreover, through the kindness of Mr. Gage, I have twenty-nine notebooks, once belonging to Mr. Arnold, which form a most interesting diary through significant Vermont years. These will be copied and one copy will be filed in the Society rooms. Owners of old journals, diaries, and correspondence will find us most receptive to invitations to look them over. Copies of them will be made, or they may be left in our care, to be preserved forever and a day, safe from fire, thoughtless hands, and thieves of other kinds that pass in the night.

* * * * *

By the way, here is a way a summons to service in the dark days of the War of 1812 read. It was sent to Seth Shaler Arnold when he was teaching school in Bladensburg, after graduating from Middlebury College:

Sir you are hereby notified to be and appear in Bladensburg on Friday morning next at 8 o'clock with three days cooked provision or as much as may be necessary to to [sic] take you to Anapolis on a term of duty under my command in obedience to order recd

Jas Veitch Capt

Seth Shaler Arnold was born in Westminster, Vermont, February 22, 1788, and died in Ascutneyville, Vermont, in 1871. Mr. Arnold had one pastorate in Alstead, New Hampshire, but when his father, Seth Arnold [born 1747—died 1849], became blind, the son returned to Westminster to look after his father's extensive business which included a tannery, a brick-yard, and a silkworm enterprise.

* * * * *

Mr. Clement's review of *Vermont in the Making* [Proceedings: Vol. VII, No. 3, September, 1939] by Matt B. Jones drew generous attention to this significant book and its place in our historical literature. On one point, the evaluation of the decision of the United States Supreme Court that set aside the legality of the New Hampshire Grants—that is, the evaluation from a historical point of view—Mr. Clement joined issue with Mr. Jones so effectively, it seemed to me, that I invited Mr. Jones to reply. In answer he wrote:

“. . . my little book must stand on its own feet, and I am disinclined to debate the more or less technical point upon which Mr. Clement and I have agreed to disagree. I respect his opinion although I do not accept it.

“After all, whether the Supreme Court indulged in *obiter dicta* or did not, there remains a mass of evidence as to the meaning and effect of the Order of the King in Council of July 20, 1764, which must be evaluated in order to reach the truth of early Vermont history. Its importance is certainly not diminished by the analysis to which the great court subjected it in reaching its unanimous decision that the New Hampshire claim to a line at the top of the west bank of the Connecticut River could not be upheld. It is upon this evidence as well as upon the opinion of the court that the conclusions of *Vermont in the Making* are based.”

* * * * *

The economic history of the state has been sadly neglected, and it is a rich field for study. There are many puzzling questions facing us, questions that will continue to puzzle us, until we have a long view into the past. For instance, just a moment ago I tried to locate some reference to the extent of the silkworm-growing industry in the state when referring, in an earlier paragraph, to Mr. Arnold's enterprise, but looked in vain. I mention this industry as a minor ex-

ample, but it is a part of the struggle of Vermonters to find a permanent road to the prosperity that seems to hover just beyond the fringes of our many economic experiments. Here and there, however, a competent study fills in some gap in the picture. I have been examining with growing appreciation a report, termed "preliminary," issued by the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, Burlington, Vermont. The report is entitled, "Prices Paid by Farmers for Goods and Services and Received by Them for Farm Products, 1790-1871; Wages of Farm Labor, 1780-1937," and is credited to T. M. Adams. I plan to have it reviewed in a later issue of the *Proceedings*—and I might add that all economic studies with a historical slant will be welcomed.

* * * * *

I am wondering if *The Brattleboro Reformer* does not lead all newspapers in the state in the amount of space given to historical subjects. If loyal followers of other papers disagree with me, I shall be glad to print the evidence—but I must ask for evidence, not assertions or opinions. I find in the *Reformer* [August 21, 1939] about four columns given to an excellent "History of Newfane Churches, 1774-1939," by Mrs. Grace Rhodes, illustrated by a cut of the First Congregational Church of Newfane. On August 18, 1939, the same paper printed "Pioneer Days in Marlboro," by Ruth E. Nido of the Wilmington High School—an essay which won in the Edmunds contest and also in the contest sponsored by the Windham County Historical Society. On August 11, 1939, the *Reformer* printed a sketch of the old Christ Church in Guilford which "for 120 years has stood as a beacon and a landmark to those who traveled the Brattleboro-Greenfield turnpike—whether on foot or on horseback, in ox cart or surrey, in motor car or bus. It is the oldest Episcopal church in the state, and has not been altered in appearance since it was first erected . . . It has seen Guilford as the largest town in Vermont, . . . and again it has seen a dwindling population, yielding its supremacy to Brattleboro, as railroad and industry made the latter town grow at the expense of the older village."

* * * * *

The White River Valley Historical Society was organized in Bethel in August, and we trust that the association will grow and prosper. At one time, an attempt was made to secure reports from

the various local historical societies of the state, but after the manner of mankind some secretaries forgot to send reports and others were too busy, and so on; but the pages of the *Proceedings* will always be open to summaries of the activities of any of the local organizations. We should like to have particularly the titles and names of authors of papers read and addresses given. Many times these offer very valuable clues to scholars interested in research in Vermont fields. One of these days, it may be possible to bring together representatives of the local societies and the state society who can plan for coordinated action in studying and preserving historical phases of the state's past.

* * * * *

Miss C. Eleanor Hall, in answer to a request as to the research upon which she is engaged, writes: "You wrote me sometime ago for a brief statement on what I was doing on the Embargo of 1807-1809. The plan is to work out a detailed account of it as it affected the Champlain Valley which as you know was one of the storm centers of enforcement. I am endeavoring to cover the period (Dec. 1807-March 1808) when it was one of the few legitimate highways out of the country; the so-called 'land embargo'; the smuggling through the summer of 1808; the escapades of the militia; the Black Snake affair and trials with the subsequent hanging of Dean; the Vermont election of 1808; the breakdown of the law; and the New York election of the spring of 1809. At the present time I am trying to locate the official reports and letters sent in by the Collectors of Internal Revenue to the then Secretary of State, Albert Gallatin." Miss Hall's address is 45 Spring Street, Port Henry, New York.

Professor Milton W. Hamilton of Albright College, Reading, Pennsylvania, writes in answer to our request as to his research that he has undertaken a study of "Journalism in Vermont," covering the period to 1840 or 1850. He has published a volume entitled, *The Country Printer, New York State, 1785-1830* (Columbia University Press, 1936).

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Mrs. Flanders' search for ballads and folk-songs goes merrily on, and I trust that our readers will give her willing coöperation. She sends this note: "In my quest for songs in the memories of people living in Vermont I have been intrigued to go beyond the boundaries, now and then, by addresses given me by the singers. This has led

me to the preparation of a book of folk-ballads traditional in New England. I welcome correspondence about very old songs and about addresses of singers I should visit with my dictaphone. Please write me at this address—Helen Hartness Flanders, Springfield, Vermont."

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Mr. Charles M. Thompson, one of our reviewers in this issue, is a Vermonter with a long and distinguished record as an editor. He is now, I understand, writing a history of the state which will deal primarily with the people of the state rather than with events. His great-grandfather was Daniel P. Thompson, author of the immortal story, *The Green Mountain Boys*. Doctor Herbert E. Putnam, who reviews the Vermont 1800 census volume, is a member of the Department of History of the University of Vermont. He is a graduate of the University of Minnesota and his doctorate was received at Cornell in 1930. He has agreed to make a comparative study of the census of 1800 and the census of 1930, and his findings are certain to be highly important to all who are puzzled or are wondering about the changes one hundred and fifty years have brought in the racial drift of our people.

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The Stephen Daye Press, under escort of a guard on its journey to New York and on its return, also while in New York, was the chief exhibit of the Graphic Arts Exposition on the occasion of the 300th Anniversary of Printing in Colonial America. The sending of the Press aroused such extensive appreciation and interest that were a direct benefit to the Society that I intend to publish the full story in the next *Proceedings*.

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Mr. Anderson's confession in his analysis of his old Highgate account book [*Proceedings*: Vol. VII, No. 3, September, 1939] that he did not know what the term "jumping an axe" signified, drew the interest of a wide circle of correspondents; and as a result, we think the puzzle is a puzzle no longer. Their findings will be made public in our March issue.

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I have been looking with some awe at the published membership of the State Historical Society of Missouri—2,411, the largest membership, so Missouri claims, in the Country. The New York State

Historical Association has a membership of 1,935. The Vermont Historical Society cannot boast of even 500 members—in a state that has been referred to as the “most American of all states in the Union.” If each Vermonter on our list, whether native, adopted, transferred or marginal, would ambush one friend—and two dollars—and send in his name to the Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont, the total gained might not be awe-inspiring, but it would be a great encouragement to those of us who labor in the vineyard.

A. W. P.



